Animals and the Politics of Suffering

Essays on Law, Care and Interspecies Relations

Leth-Espensen, Marie

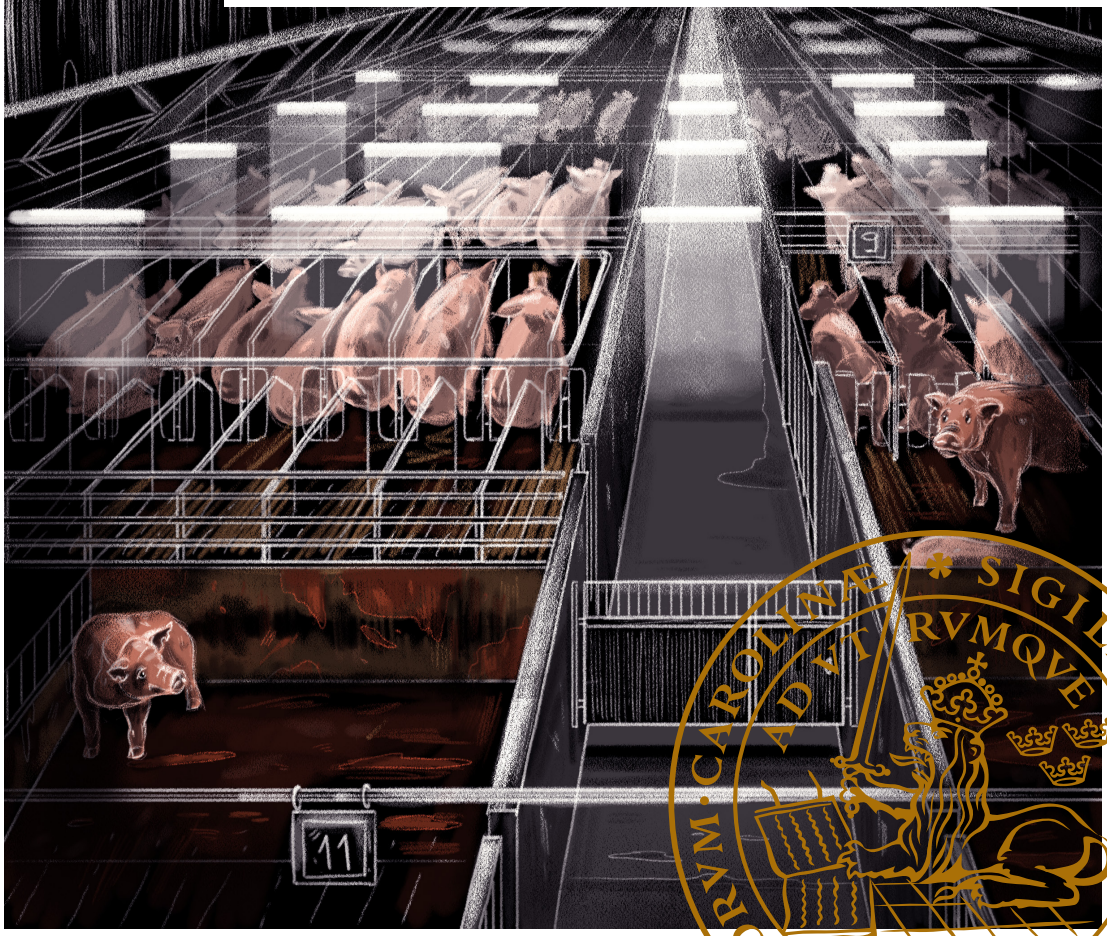
2023

Document Version:
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Animals and the Politics of Suffering

Essays on Law, Care and Interspecies Relations

MARIE LETH-ESPENSEN
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY OF LAW | LUND UNIVERSITY



Animals and the Politics of Suffering

Animals and the Politics of Suffering

Essays on Law, Care and Interspecies Relations

Marie Leth-Espensen

LUND
UNIVERSITY

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

Doctoral dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) at the Faculty of Social Sciences at Lund University to be publicly defended on 9 June 2023 at 14.00 at the School of Social Work, Allhelgona Kyrkogata 8.

Faculty opponent
David Redmalm

Organization: LUND UNIVERSITY, Faculty of Social Sciences

Document name: Doctoral Thesis **Date of issue:** 9 June 2023

Author(s): Marie Leth-Espensen

Title and subtitle: Animals and the Politics of Suffering. Essays on Law, Care and Interspecies Relations

Abstract:

This compilation thesis aims to develop an understanding of the ethical, legal and political implications associated with different strategies to address the suffering of animals caused by industrialised agriculture. Based on qualitative analysis conducted in Denmark, the research explores how ethical commitment to the situation of farmed animals is negotiated across different domains. The thesis is shaped by socio-legal research combined with cross-disciplinary social analysis of human-animal relations and interspecies politics. Based on three analytical themes – *invisible animals, witnessing suffering* and *care as an ethical obligation* – the research analyses competing strategies to address the suffering of nonhuman animals. Paper I outlines the potential of socio-legal scholarship in developing new perspectives on anthropocentrism in law by creating a bridge between recent developments in 'more-than-human' scholarship and the field of animal law. Moreover, the paper suggests how the empirical tradition in the sociology of law can bring the study of law closer to a multispecies account of the world. Paper II focuses on recent regulatory schemes imposed on Danish farmers to improve animal welfare. Based on interviews with Danish animal welfare inspectors and inspection reports, the paper analyses how responses to suffering are negotiated at the intersection of law and bureaucratic procedures. Paper III examines a Danish case of a recent trend towards New Carnivorism and DIY slaughter against the backdrop of the growing discomfort with the killing of nonhuman animals. Drawing on Carol Adam's concept of *the absent referent*, the paper calls for a more nuanced understanding of how the visibility and invisibility of animals play out in the promotion of responsible meat eating. Finally, Paper IV focuses on the embodied practices of providing sanctuary for previously farmed animals. Drawing on María Puig de la Bellacasa's concept of *ethical doings*, the paper explores the challenges confronting the sanctuaries and their aspiration for multispecies flourishing. Each of the empirical studies that comprise the thesis foregrounds different aspects of *the politics of suffering* that characterise the main responses to the situation of animals reared for the purpose of industrialised food production. Finally, the thesis contributes to conversations about overcoming the current impasse by emphasising the need to develop alternative ideas about interspecies relations of care.

Key words: animal suffering, industrialised animal production, care, anthropocentrism, visibility, witnessing, ethical obligation, Critical Animal Studies, socio-legal research, Denmark.

Language: English **Number of pages**: 70

ISSN and key title: 1403-7256 Sociology of Law Dissertations

ISBN: 978-91-8039-683-7 (print) 978-91-8039-684-4 (pdf)

Animals and the Politics of Suffering

Essays on Law, Care and Interspecies Relations

Marie Leth-Espensen

LUND
UNIVERSITY

Cover illustration by Mina Mimosa

Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Sociology of Law

ISBN 978-91-8039-683-7 (print)
ISBN 978-91-8039-684-4 (pdf)
ISSN 1403-7256 Sociology of Law Dissertations

Printed in Sweden by Media-Tryck, Lund University
Lund 2023

Table of Contents

List of Original Papers

Paper I

Leth-Espensen, M. & Svensson, M. (2021). "Beyond Law's Anthropocentrism. A sociolegal Reflection on Animal Law and the More-Than-Human Turn." *Scandinavian Studies in Law* (special issue).

Paper II

Leth-Espensen, M. "Monitoring Care, Curating Suffering. Law, Bureaucracy and Veterinary Practices in Contemporary Animal Politics." *Unpublished manuscript.*

Paper III

Madsen, M. E & Leth-Espensen, M. (2019). "Kill Your Favorite Dish: Examining the Role of New Carnivorism in Perpetuating Meat Eating." *Society and Animals*, 29(4): 376–392.

Paper IV

Leth-Espensen, M. (forthcoming). "Care in a Time of Anthropogenic Problems: Experiences from Farmed Animal Sanctuaries in Denmark." In Aavik, K., Irni K. & Joki, M. (Eds.) *Developing Feminist Animal Studies: Critical Perspectives on Food and Eating*. Brill.

Acknowledgements

All work requires a collective effort and research is a good example. The seeds of this thesis were planted years ago as I first encountered ways of interacting with other living beings, which deeply moved me: everyday acts of resistance and manifestations of solidarity across species boundaries. My world was changed. For getting to 'know' and appreciate the many and diverse forms of friendship that emerged between various kinds of animals, I am first and foremost indebted to my life-long friend Mathias Elrød Madsen and to the community of critical animal scholars from both near and far. In particular, the Network for Critical Animal Studies at Lund University has led me to befriend so many brilliant and critically-minded scholars over the years: Jana Canavan, Tobias Linné, Lena Lindström, María R. Carreras, Kurtis Boyer, Naja Yndal-Olsen, Gina Song, Laura Fernández and Iselin Gambert.

The research would not have been possible without the research participants who helped me understand the world of animal care so much more. Thank you for putting up with my many questions and generously sharing your knowledge and reflections with me.

Of course, turning these sources of indispensable inspiration into an academic thesis has depended on the support of my supervisors. From our very first meeting, Måns Svensson has shown great confidence in me and my many sketchy ideas, offering his support in critical moments when I found myself lost in my research or the subject. For that I am deeply grateful. Isabel Schoultz has provided invaluable guidance, generously sharing her own experiences and showing – through her actions – how it is possible to navigate the many tedious aspects of academia while also ensuring that research remains a critical practice. Your support means so much and I am convinced that it saved me a lot of trouble! Finally, Maneesha Deckha, whom I deeply admire for her ability to always ensure that her unwavering critique of humanity's many shortcomings is accompanied by productive suggestions on reform, has offered insightful and genuinely supportive comments along the way. Your scholarship has pushed me further than I would have dared to go by myself.

My extended thanks to my seminar discussants who provided excellent and highly appreciated comments on my work in progress: Elan Abrell, Jannice Käll, Rosemary-Claire Collard, Oscar Björkenfeldt, Cansu Bostan, Ida Nafstad and others who were kind to provide in-depth comments on my papers.

I have been fortunate to be surrounded by great colleagues at the Sociology of Law Department in Lund. In particular, I am indebted to my doctoral student peers who made the journey so much more enjoyable and bearable! Nicolás Serrano, John Woodlock, Cansu Bostan and Oscar Björkenfeldt – I am so grateful that you were my travel companions and I am so proud of what we have accomplished together. Thank you for the joy and fun. I expect there will be much more of the same in the future!

I also want to take the opportunity to thank some other intellectual companions I have had the pleasure to meet and engage with over the years: the members of the sanctuary reading group Maria Martelli, Darren Chang, Zipporah Weisberg and Kate Goldie, the participants at the emerging scholars workshop organised by the *Animals & Society Research Initiative* at the University of Victoria and the EcoGlobal conference participants whom I met in Aarhus. I am also grateful to Inger Anneberg and Søren Stig Andersen who have provided excellent and detailed feedback on previous drafts. Thank you, Astrid Oberborbeck Andersen for inviting me to speak for *the Biosociality & the Digital Anthropocene* seminar series. I also want to extend my thanks to Stine Krøijer, Tine Gammeltoft and the amazing group of PhD students at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Copenhagen for welcoming me as a visiting researcher. Thank you, Miriam Waltz for being the most wonderful office partner when I transitioned back from the solitude of the pandemic.

Finally, I want to thank my dear friends and family for all the support and faith you have shown in me. In particular, Nis and Ask – my two favourite animals – you mean the world to me! Thank you for all the precious moments that have helped me to put things into perspective.

Marie Leth-Espensen
Copenhagen/Lund

Introduction

Otto had no idea of what was awaiting him as he lay calmly on the couch, wagging his tail and sniffing the hands of the person who had been given the role of his primary caretaker for the next 21 days. The small piglet had unwittingly become a participant in another popular media format that was soon to spark a heated public debate in Denmark about the consumption and killing of animals. Otto had just moved in with the celebrated Danish TV host Thomas Skov and his wife Emilie in what had been called "an experiment." The couple was going to live with Otto over a period of three weeks before deciding if he should share the same fate of his fellow species, i.e. being turned into meat as part of a traditional Danish Christmas dinner (DR, 2014).[1]

Over the past decade, Danish television and news media have frequently reported on the growing concern about the treatment of farmed animals. From the documenting of the conditions on farms and processing plants to formats such as the one featuring Otto aimed to confront the complex ethics of killing *some* animals while grieving *others* (Joy, 2011; Redmalm, 2015). In a society in which consuming animals is the norm, the TV show asked: are we on ethically sound ground when we eat animals? Is killing ethical? What makes the TV show particularly interesting in a Danish context is the key role that pigs play in the dominant cultural image of Denmark as a farmers' land – sometimes even labelled *The Pig Nation* (*Svineriget*). While it is certainly true that pig production holds a special place in Denmark, this image of Danish culture has also recently been pushed by right-wing populists' attacks on the non-pork eating Muslim and vegan minorities, thereby reaffirming pig rearing as being part of a proud Danish history

[1] The show was broadcast in 2014 over the 21 days leading up to the Christmas holiday season. This made it possible to make references to pork as it is a traditional Christmas dish that is served in many Danish homes. The show called *Otto – When the Christmas Pig is Given a Name* appeared on the public television channel DR3.

in an age when its overall impact is being debated on all sides (Karrebæk, 2021; Svendsen, 2022).

Despite this increased 'politicisation' of animal consumption and production in contemporary society, remarkably little attention has been paid to questioning some of the fundamental ethical concerns underlying the current food system: the commodification of animals and their transformation into edible objects (Adams, 1990).[2] Against this backdrop, the TV show might be considered a worthy attempt to confront an enduring ethical dilemma. However, the insignificance attached to the question of what would happen to Otto if his life were to be 'spared' is telling. At no point did the show engage with how Otto's life might have turned out if he had escaped the fate that had been carved out for him. In other words, the show did not leave the viewers with any real alternative to the predominant way of engaging with farmed animals such as Otto. Instead, it only reaffirmed the standard narrative: that the fate of animals is at the mercy of humans. Perhaps not surprisingly, given the huge amount of controversy the show had stirred, Otto's life was eventually 'spared.' However, what happened to him afterward remains unknown to most people. At first, Otto lived in a private home, but his new guardian soon realised that he did not have the means to care for Otto in the long term. After further attempts to rehouse Otto, he was finally taken in by a sanctuary and is now part of a community for previously farmed and abused animals (Dyrenes Frie Farm, 2017).

Initially prompted by the growing debate over animal production in the Danish public and media, this compilation thesis is about responses to the suffering of farmed animals caused by industrialised agriculture with the aim of contributing to the understanding of their ethical, legal and political implications. Based on qualitative analysis conducted in Denmark, the thesis explores how ethical commitment to the situation of farmed animals is negotiated across three different domains: industry regulation, consumption and sanctuary-making. Thus, in the research, I move from the example of regulatory schemes imposed on Danish farmers to improve animal welfare through the recent trends of responsible meat consumption to the efforts of sanctuaries to create a home for rescued and previously farmed animals.

[2] Another crucial aspect of the standard narrative reproduced in such TV formats concerns the assumption that present-day consumers have become alienated from what is suggested to be an inescapable 'truth' about eating, i.e., that it involves the killing of nonhuman animals (see also Paper III).

The research is located in Denmark, a country with one of the highest levels of animal production and consumption per capita in the world (Sanders, 2020).[3] However, observing the broader political economy of animal agriculture and the way in which Danish food production is situated within capitalist and global networks of relations, this thesis addresses issues that transgress national frameworks and agendas. On a global scale, it is estimated that around 70 billion land farmed animals are killed annually. Additionally, one to three billion fish*es* are killed within and outside industrial operations – an approximate estimate as fishes are weighed in tons and not counted as individuals (Anthis & Anthis, 2019). Factory farming, the dominant mode of rearing animals today – in Denmark and globally – is a particularly harmful mode of production. In these production systems, large numbers of animals are confined in crowded indoor facilities with limited opportunity for movement and engaging in species-typical behaviour. These animals are bred to grow as quickly as possible within a short time frame and subjected to painful procedures such as debeaking, tail docking and castration without the use of anaesthetics. Cows and hens in dairy and egg production are exploited on the basis of their reproductive capacity, while male chicks are simply killed briefly after birth. In industrialised animal production, whether conventional or organic, animals are bred on a large scale for the purpose of profit, subjected to multiple sources of fear and trauma and deprived of the ability to care for their kin and offspring. Further, most pigs are stunned using carbon dioxide while chickens are given an "electric bath" – methods which result in acute pain and severe stress (Eurogroup for Animals, 2019; Lambert, 2023).

However, animal agriculture is not only harmful to specific production animals. On a global scale, animal farming and its supply chains are estimated to account for 14.5% of total greenhouse gas emissions (Gerber et al., 2013). This a conservative estimate since the much more potent methane produced by agriculture is measured by the methane's 100-year global warming potential (GWP), which is significantly lower when compared with the 20-year GWP. In Denmark, agriculture makes up as much as 62% of the total land use and is estimated to account for 45% of the country's total greenhouse gas emissions by 2025 (Danish Energy Agency, 2022). Decades of intensification of farming techniques have had severe consequences for the state of biodiversity, partially due

[3] According to Faunalytics, Denmark slaughtered the highest number of pigs in the world per capita in 2018, i.e., 3.1 pigs per human inhabitant.

to ammonia emissions but also due to the extensive agricultural land use and monocropping (Ministry of Environment and Food of Denmark, 2016). In Denmark, 41% of all species listed according to the IUCN Red List of Threatened Species are classified as either disappeared, critically endangered, vulnerable or rare (Moeslund et al., 2019).

Moreover, to sustain animal rearing in Denmark, approximately 1.8 million tons of soy is imported annually, of which 44% originates from Brazilian rainforests (Callesen et al., 2020). This means that Danish farming is associated with deforestation and a significant decline in animal abundance and species loss in places remote from the production site (Asher, 2019).[4] This is a clear example of how animal agriculture is deeply engrained in global anthropogenic environmental degradation, which disproportionally affects Indigenous peoples and communities in the Global South (IPCC, 2019). The animal industry also plays out in the broader context of capitalist exploitation of cheap labour. Numerous incidents of human rights and labour abuses are reported regarding migrant workers on Danish farms and in Danish processing plants and subcontractors located in Germany (Fagbladet 3F, 2022; Young, 2020).[5] While these perspectives might fall outside the specific empirical analysis presented in this thesis, they are essential for understanding the broader context of the impact of industrialised animal farming and food production systems.

Defining the research problem: Anthropocentric Law and Claims to Care

Despite the bleak picture, the pitfalls of intensive farming have made it to the political agenda. In recent decades, the conditions of animals entangled in these broader systems of exploitation are receiving increasing attention. From being an issue primarily discussed in activist circles, these days, established non-governmental organisations and policy-makers take part in debating these

[4] Additionally, a recent international investigation conducted by Greenpeace International documented how Danish meat-producing companies have been linked to companies in Brazil involved in the intentional razing of rainforests to free land for the production of cattle (Greenpeace, 2020b)

[5] See also Human Rights Watch comments about labour abuse in US meat and poultry plants.

complex issues. Over the past decades, UN expert panels have consistently highlighted animal agriculture as a major priority for the climate agenda (FAO, 2006, 2018; Gerber et al., 2013), scientists are calling for transitioning to a plant-based diet in light of the global climate emergency (Ripple et al., 2020), while the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO) joint by the World Organisation for Animal Health (OIE) and the World Health Organization (WHO) has warned against the risk of pandemics caused by zoonoses related to intensive farming and the destruction of natural habitats (WHO, 2019).

These urgent political agendas are slowly becoming incorporated into agro-industrial policies. The EU's Common Agricultural Policy is increasingly (albeit insufficiently) used to steer production towards more sustainable modes of production, including minimum standards to improve the welfare of animals – regulation that is a global exception rather than the rule (Eurogroup for Animals, 2023). Nevertheless, from an animal-focused perspective, these policies are deeply disappointing and are in no way sufficient to address the current developments towards further intensification by means of upscaling, breeding, technological innovations and the increasing use of long-distance transportation embedded in globalised networks of food production. More fundamentally, these policies do not challenge the root causes of such harmful operations and systems of exploiting animals' bodies, even where laws that recognise animal sentience have been amended (Cudworth, 2011b).[6]

A basic premise for this thesis is how anthropocentrism remains intact despite the increasing commitment to animal care and protection in society at large. Anthropocentrism refers to world-views or systems of thought that reflect the perception that humans are superior to all other living beings and that humans alone possess intrinsic value. Thus, anthropocentrism is linked to an idea of human exceptionalism that designates the view that particular capacities can only be ascribed to humans even when research indicates otherwise (Gruen, 2021; Tyler, 2021). Considering human-animal relations more specifically, I consider

[6] For example, according to the EU Lisbon Treaty of 2009: "In formulating and implementing the Union's agriculture, fisheries, transport, internal market, research and technological development and space policies, the Union and the Member States shall, since animals are sentient beings, pay full regard to the welfare requirements of animals, while respecting the legislative or administrative provisions and customs of the Member States relating in particular to religious rites, cultural traditions and regional heritage." Nevertheless, the EU council and other legislative bodies have mandated that animals should be considered as objects or tradable goods.

anthropocentrism as a way of privileging humans over other animals in a way that diminishes their phenomenological, bodily and affective experiences (Probyn-Rapsey, 2018). Particularly in the context of this thesis, I note how anthropocentrism contributes to sustaining harmful human-animal relations by rejecting or disregarding the extensive and multifaceted violence that nonhuman animals are subjected to in food production systems. As critical animal scholars have previously shown, anthropocentrism can also play out as depictions of nonhuman animals as willingly – and even 'happily' – consenting to exploitation (Canavan, 2017; Linné & Pedersen, 2016). In this perspective, ethical issues regarding the consumption and killing of animals should not only be addressed in terms of their material effects but must be addressed at the fundamental level of our knowledge systems (Wadiwel, 2015).[7]

However, when viewing the world through the lens of anthropocentrism, there is a risk of overemphasising the control of "man over nature," such as in discussions regarding domestication, thereby contributing to the further marginalisation of other animals, their histories and agency (Swanson et al., 2018).[8] Yet, the acknowledgement of nonhuman animals as world-making beings does not need to preclude social critique of the extensive control on the part of humans (Wadiwel, 2015). I hope that my thesis will be a testimony to the notion of confronting anthropocentrism in order to enable new articulations of the experiences and social worlds of other animals, paving the way for alternative ways of engaging in a larger-than-human context. Nevertheless, the risk of diluting the meaning of the concept of anthropocentrism remains. Thus, we cannot simply rely on calling out anthropocentric worldviews and orders without addressing their particular socio-historical contexts and intersections with other oppressive systems and the ways in which the 'human' category contributes to reinforcing hierarchies between human beings (Kim, 2015; Ko & Ko, 2017). Additionally, if anthropocentrism is to guide critical scholarship, we must recognise differentiated responsibilities, such as the importance of holding the animal industry accountable, rather than individual workers (Pachirat, 2018; Wadiwel, 2015). In other words, we must identify the role of global structures of inequality and

[7] In making this point, Wadiwel draws on the concept of epistemic violence associated with the post-colonial tradition such as in the work of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak or Edward Said. See also the subsequent section "Invisible Animals."

[8] For instance, in the introduction to the edited volume *Domestication Gone Wild*, the authors critique previous work on domestication for overemphasising human control.

exploitation embedded in the history of capitalism, colonialism and empire (Giraud, 2019).

In contemplating the circumstances of nonhuman animals at the fundamental level, critical animal scholarship has often highlighted the social, historical and political exclusion from the polity of nonhuman animals through the ontological classification of the 'animal' as an inferior category (Donaldson & Kymlicka, 2011; Wadiwel, 2015; Wolfe, 2012). Relatedly, legal scholars have described the property paradigm for nonhuman animals as being a fundamental wrong that must be addressed (Deckha, 2021; Favre, 2010; Fernandez, 2019; Francione, 1995). Hence, a much-debated issue in animal law concerns the bifurcation between legal persons and property (Kurki, 2017). Scholars have also demonstrated how what on paper might look like a purely legal matter – a specific legal outcome of the 'Western' legal tradition leaving only two options: either a person or a thing – in practical terms, turns out to have significant consequences for the lives of other animals. As sociologist Lauren Corman (2017:253) observes, the property status of animals is not simply a legal category but also amounts to "inaccurate assumptions about who other animals are and can be" – that is, the effects of the propertisation of nonhuman animals extends far beyond the legal realm (see also, Abrell, 2021).[9]

In adopting a socio-legal approach throughout this thesis, I take a point of departure in the discussion about the property paradigm, while also expanding this debate to other dimensions of law, i.e. legal provisions related to animal care and protection. In doing so, I would assert that a socio-legal perspective can help to explore the broader consequences of anthropocentrism in law, even after nonhuman animals have been included in the legal framework as living or sentient beings.[10] In this regard, I note how socio-legal research can highlight aspects of anthropocentrism beyond the lack of welfare regulation and farming exemptions,

[9] For example, in drawing on Katherine Verdery referring to property as a "native category" in Western thinking, Elan Abrell (2021) observes the subject-making effects of this category, defining humans as de facto property owners, while ascribing other animals the status of mere property.

[10] I draw on a broad definition of socio-legal research. According to Guth & Ashford: '"Socio-legal studies' means different things to different scholars and is probably best understood as crossing the boundaries of law in context, empirical work, social science methodologies and non-doctrinal work more broadly" (quoted in Brooman, 2017; see also, Guth & Ashford, 2014).

thereby bringing additional aspects beyond propertisation to the fore (Eisen, 2019b).[11]

At this point, it is worth noting the increasing scholarly attention being paid to rethinking human relationships with other animals and living beings. Essential contributions have been made to conceptualise more-than-human social change through concepts such as *abolitionism* (Francione, 1995), *total liberation* (Nocella et al., 2014), *interspecies solidarity* (Hribal, 2007), *intentional political communities* (Donaldson & Kymlicka, 2015) and, more recently, *multispecies justice* (Celermajer et al., 2021). Legal scholarship has proposed concepts of animal or nonhuman rights and legal personhood (Favre, 2010; Wise, 2000), although it remains divided on the issue of liberalism, Western-centrism and human exceptionalism (Bryant, 2007; Deckha, 2012; Grear, 2015; Otomo & Mussawir, 2013). Instead, recent efforts have pursued different pathways in order to achieve more inclusive, non-anthropocentric legal reform (Bernet Kempers, 2020; Blattner, 2019; Deckha, 2021; Eisen, 2019a; Stucki, 2022).[12] However, rather than centring the issue of justice and legal mobilisation to overcome anthropocentrism in law, this thesis focuses on claims about caring for animals. This focus is associated with the overarching research objective of examining strategies of responding to animal suffering in contemporary society. However, it also situates the thesis in a particular tradition.

With the aim of contributing to and pushing the animal agenda further, this thesis addresses the fundamental issues regarding human-animal relations in terms of a crisis in care – a crisis that extends beyond the human realm and causes us to respond inadequately and neglect the unfathomable harm inflicted on other animals. Importantly, the notion of crisis in care should also invoke the understanding that the issue is not simply one of a deficit or a lack of care but is a more profound issue about how care is currently configured in global structures of inequality and exploitation (Crary & Gruen, 2022). In centring on the question

[11] Legal scholar Jessica Eisen (2019b), for example, observes how the current legal situation of animals not only can be assigned to their property status or the law's failure to protect animals. Rather, she considers the many ways in which (American) law affirms and maintains nonhuman animals as resources.

[12] For example, Maneesha Deckha has proposed the concept of *legal beingness* to circumvent the residual anthropocentrism embedded in previously suggested alternatives to the object/property status of animals. For instance, claims of legal personhood tend to be based on a logic of sameness, thereby resulting in certain thresholds based on cognition, ability to suffer or sentience that result in new forms of inequality and hierarchy in animals.

of care, I note how feminist scholars and advocates have long called for attention to care as a site of power (Tronto, 1993). In particular, the violence that happens in the name of care has been a subject of continuous debate (Kittay, 2001). More recently, there has been a call for a "non-innocent" approach to the meanings of care presumably steering clear of a tendency to uncritically embrace care without acknowledging its worldly messiness (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2012, 2017). I would contend that we cannot formulate better ways of caring if we fail to confront the impact of existing modes of care. In this sense, the thesis can be read as a warning against the ways in which care can be co-opted, compromised and come to serve as an instrument. However, this does not imply that I am giving up on care. On the contrary, my critical exploration of care is based on a strong conviction that a better world can only be created through a sincere commitment to 'care better' – and this is ultimately the message that I hope this thesis will convey.

On this point, my research owes a lot to the foundational work in Critical Animal Studies and the feminist care tradition in animal ethics in uncovering the intersections between 'human' and 'animal' care and domination and articulating versions of care and ethical obligation grounded in a relational approach. Other feminist and philosophical thinkers such as Elizabeth Spelman and Kelly Oliver have also shaped this thesis and informed my thinking about the ways in which relations of power shape our responses to the suffering of others. As these scholars remind us, care is not only a lens through which we can imagine relationships changing for the better, it is also a site of struggle. The theory chapter describes these influences in more detail and how they helped me to consider and further unpack the failure of many of the current responses to animal suffering and some potential ways forward.

Before I start defining the more specific aim of this research, I would like to briefly mention terminology: I take into account how language plays a key role in perpetuating the predominant human-animal relations, which is why terms such as 'nonhuman animals,' 'humans and *other* animals,' 'farm*ed* animals' and 'larger-than-human worlds' are used throughout the thesis in an attempt to problematise, partially disrupt and account for the ways in which representation and categorisation work as instruments of power (Adams, 1990). However, there are parts of the thesis where I simply refer to 'animals,' either when referencing standard terminology, in cases where humans might as well be included in the category, or for reasons relating to clarity of language.

Aim and Research Questions

This thesis offers a view of the ways in which nonhuman animals have become objects of care under the conditions set by industrialised animal production. Based on qualitative analysis conducted in Denmark across three research sites or 'domains' – industry regulation, consumption, sanctuary-making – the research explores various attempts to negotiate care for farmed animals. In doing so, the thesis aims to develop an understanding of the ethical, legal and political implications associated with different strategies to address the suffering of farmed animals.

The following research questions have guided the papers:

> How can a socio-legal research approach contribute to bringing the study of animals, society and the law closer to a non-anthropocentric and multispecies account of the world? (Paper I)
>
> How do legal and bureaucratic procedures shape responses to animal suffering in the context of regulatory schemes implemented to improve animal welfare on Danish farms? (Paper II)
>
> How do the visibility and invisibility of animals inform recent gastronomic trends of responsible meat consumption and what are the consequences for human relationships to other animals? (Paper III)
>
> In what ways do *farmed animal sanctuaries* offer an alternative to the current anthropocentric foundation for care embedded in industrialised animal production? (Paper IV)

The research has been primarily developed by considering two recent scholarly conversations. The first conversation is about the urgency of fostering a non-anthropocentric foundation for care in a shared, multispecies world characterised by multiple anthropogenic challenges (Abrell, 2021; Coulter, 2016; Desai & Smith, 2018; Gillespie, 2018; Ginn et al., 2014; Gruen, 2013; Haraway, 2008; Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017; van Dooren, 2014). The second conversation plays out within and across animal-focused legal and socio-legal scholarship that aims to challenge anthropocentric law (Braverman, 2015; Deckha, 2021; Grear, 2015; Otomo & Mussawir, 2013). The research sits at the intersection of these two

conversations. In emphasising current responses to suffering, I extend the conversation about anthropocentric law from its focus on the property status of animals to the law's 'claim' to care and the ways in which care for animals is governed. For this purpose, I adopt a socio-legal research approach to explore the complex implications of the subject-object dichotomy embedded in animal protection.[13] Paper I, co-authored with Måns Svensson, presents our view on how socio-legal research (including, the sociology of law) might be well placed to bridge the growing body of scholarship on animal-related issues in law and the social sciences.[14] Based on a literature review, we present three themes or lines of inquiry that demonstrate the contribution of the empirical tradition of the sociology of law. The paper can also be read as a blueprint for the cross-disciplinary commitment of the research at hand.[15] Although firmly placed in the social sciences, I address the research topic by considering the scholarly debates and developments in animal law with the intention to offer an empirically-based social analysis of human-animal relations.

The thesis also includes three empirical studies. The first study presented in Paper II is about industry regulation. It considers how animal care has become inscribed in industrial farming policies shaped by the social and legal expectation to reduce animal suffering under Danish and EU law. More specifically, it addresses regulatory schemes introduced to improve animal welfare on Danish

[13] For instance, socio-legal research might draw attention to the social contingency of legal categorisations that provide different kinds of protection for animals across various spaces such as farms, zoos or 'in the wild.' For instance, in Paper IV, I show how restrictive zoning laws define where nonhuman animals can live and deceased animals can be buried. Such perspectives demonstrate how interspecies relations are governed through various anthropocentric provisions, policies and practices.

[14] In this thesis, I use the notion of socio-legal research and the sociology of law interchangeably. Although some scholars suggest that important distinctions can be made between various sub-fields in the socio-legal sphere (Banakar, 1998), I am more inclined towards an open-ended definition of socio-legal research as a "space of encounter" at the intersection of the legal discipline and the social sciences (Laura Kalman, quoted in Vick, 2004:164).

[15] The sociology of law is often defined as an interdisciplinary field that merges law and the social sciences. According to Banakar & Travers (2005:14), interdisciplinarity means integrating knowledge and skills from two or more disciplines into one single approach: "in an attempt to transcend some of the theoretical and methodological limitations of the disciplines in question and create a basis for developing a new form of analysis." When I refer to the cross-disciplinarity commitment of my research, I am simply suggesting that my research integrates perspectives and approaches from various disciplines, not that I consider myself a cross-disciplinary or interdisciplinary researcher.

farms. The empirical material comprises inspection reports and interviews with veterinary officers and technicians assigned the task of conducting on-farm inspections to examine whether farmers are complying with the law. In analysing the role of veterinary practices in enforcing the law, I suggest how animal welfare inspections transform the underlying commitment to address suffering into specific acts of *juridical eyewitnessing* based on 'seeing' and 'knowing' suffering. The paper also addresses the role of the state in shaping human-animal relations, such as when animal welfare inspectors, on behalf of the Danish State, 'instill' a particular sense of care and sensitivity in farmers.

The second study focuses on a Danish television show and cooking competition in which the participants are prompted to "look the animal in the eyes" and kill "it." Based on critical discourse analysis, Paper III – co-authored with Mathias Elrød Madsen – provides further grounds for critically engaging with the ways in which ethical concerns about killing animals are framed. The examined case presents an alternative to the widespread concealment of modern farming practices by calling for the disclosure of the animals behind the meat. In this sense, the show can be situated in the context of recent methods of creating legitimacy adopted by the meat and dairy lobby such as "open farming" events and guided visits to slaughterhouses (Loughlin, 2023). As we demonstrate in our analysis, the TV show depicts and promotes recent trends in ethical consumption based on awareness, responsibility and respect for animals. Indeed, eating *with* care appears to be a key theme in society today to accommodate the enduring ethical challenges regarding our current food production (Pollan, 2009). Yet, our analysis demonstrates how animals remain materially and discursively invisibilised, even in strategies that appear to move in the opposite direction.

The third study is about the rescue and care of previously farmed and abused animals at sanctuaries or *fristeder* located in rural Denmark. As the concept of sanctuary, the Danish word *fristed* (literally, *free place*) connotes refuge and safety. However, while sanctuary generally implies a place where the law does not apply or that promises legal immunity, fristeder (i.e. sanctuaries for previously farmed animals) cannot promise animals protection from the law since harmful, legal provisions concerning keeping domesticated animals continue to apply even after the animals have been removed from sites of exploitation. These provisions include restrictive zoning, regulations about the burying of deceased animals on site (notably pigs) and generally prevent the sanctuaries from providing lifelong care for chronically ill and/or injured animals, given the standard legal

interpretation of protecting animals "in the best possibly way" against pain and suffering. Concerning this point, Paper IV documents the difficult task of caring for animals bred for profit given the normative structures within which sanctuaries have to operate. However, despite these challenges, sanctuaries are places where alternative kinds of multispecies life can be articulated and possibly bring the animal advocacy movement closer to articulating its end goals (Abrell, 2021; Donaldson & Kymlicka, 2015). In this sense, the paper highlights some of the significant ways sanctuary caregiving recuperates care from its current constraints, defined by agricultural control, management and captivity. Further, I develop the notion of *post-domestic care* to describe how sanctuaries invoke new meanings of care in the domestic domain, historically shaped by the legacy of farming.

As mentioned, the studies take us across three different domains: industry regulation, consumption and sanctuary-making which, in different ways, shape animal care and ethical commitments. Considering my interest in exploring strategies of responding to the suffering of animals, it might seem surprising that I exclude the farm as an empirical site of inquiry. As previous research demonstrates, specific animal facilities such as processing plants (Blanchette, 2020; Pachirat, 2011), dairy farms (Overstreet, 2018), animal auction houses (Gillespie, 2018), zoos (Braverman, 2012) or conservation sites (Srinivasan, 2014) are all pivotal to understanding animal care. However, against the backdrop of the previous literature, my intention has been to design a project in order to foreground the wider implications of how animal care has become embedded in industrial animal production, thereby setting aside the confined space of the farm in order to explore how farmed animals have become objects and subjects of care in society at large (Svendsen, 2022).[16]

In characterising the empirical sites as separate 'domains,' I want to emphasise the broader symbolic context that shapes what care is and what it might be. Concerning this point, I have been influenced by the notion of care geographies (Lawson, 2007) in considering the significant role of place and space when

[16] By extension, animal care on farms has important implications for interspecies politics more generally. For example, in the early 19th century, the wild boar – native to this region of Northern Europe – disappeared from Danish territory and has been hunted down ever since. According to Danish authorities and farmers' organisations, wild boars pose a serious threat to the Danish pig industry due to the risk of spreading the deadly African swine fever. Thus, the policy of eradicating (or 'culling', to use the official euphemism) wild boars on Danish territory is intimately connected to the care for commercial pigs, valued as an important economic 'asset' in the Danish pig industry.

determining care. Thinking with geography can be a way of emphasising the materiality and spatial circumstances of care (for instance, the impact of urban vs. rural sites, the local vs. global, particular landscapes, facilities and institutional settings) (Gillespie & Collard, 2015; Wolch & Emel, 1998). Further, space and place have also proved to be essential to develop methodologies exploring the legal aspects of human-animal relations (Arup, 2021; Delaney, 2014; Ojalammi & Blomley, 2015; Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, 2015). Adding to the spatial component of analysing inter-species politics, I find that the concept of domain captures some additional aspects of how care is defined socially, relationally and symbolically. For instance, the care provided for farmed animals in industrial contexts is not only determined by the spatial arrangement of the specific facility but also by particular 'clusters' of notions about utility, animality, etc. In this way, I believe 'domains' might further highlight the role of structural, institutional and symbolic settings, thereby supplementing previous sociological and socio-psychological modes of explaining human affordances, behaviour and attitudes towards other animals (Cole & Stewart, 2014; Joy, 2011).

In my view, including these different domains has the advantage of setting the stage for a more nuanced engagement with the complexity of how animal suffering is addressed, interrogating *care through regulation, care through eating* and *care as sanctuary-making*, respectively. Together, my empirical studies offer a view of the politics of suffering, which characterise mainstream responses to the situation of farmed animals under the current normative structures aimed at industrialised animal production. As I will return to and more fully unpack in the conclusion, I am not suggesting that responses to suffering play no role in envisioning a better future. On the contrary, rather than rejecting what might be conceived as 'an impulse' to reduce suffering, I believe that it can play an essential role in invoking a necessary discussion about the broader political aspirations for interspecies relationships of care at a time of urgent anthropogenic problems. Thus, my attempt to confront the limited remit of care under the current paradigm for animal protection critically reveals the politics of suffering, drawing attention to what it might or might not accommodate under the present circumstances to facilitate necessary conversations about alternative kinds of multispecies life and care.

Structure

The thesis continues with an introduction to the conceptual framework in which I discuss the overarching analytical concepts and themes that have informed and guided the research, including identifying the main empirical foci: *invisible animals, witnessing suffering* and *care as an ethical obligation*. Having outlined the conceptual framework, I move to a discussion of the research methodology, including the specific research methods, ethical considerations and a reflection on the limitations and delimitations of the research. This is followed by four brief summaries of the included papers. The thesis ends with a concluding reflection about the current state of interspecies relations in view of the politics of suffering and provides some tentative proposals for how to move forward.

Conceptual Framework

The purpose of this chapter is to present the overarching analytical concepts that connect my empirical studies with the research aim. I have organised these concepts according to three main themes, which I discuss based on the literature and findings from my empirical studies presented in the papers. In the first section, *invisible animals*, I discuss how the invisibility of nonhuman animals has been suggested to be key feature of the mass production and killing of animals in industrial agriculture. The section introduces competing attempts at theorising and nuancing the meaning of invisibility in critical animal scholarship. In the second section, *witnessing suffering*, I reflect on witnessing as an act of giving evidence and responding to the suffering of others. I discuss various efforts to contemplate the risks associated with mainstream strategies to address animal suffering and the potentially ethically fraught subject-object dichotomy that emerges as nonhuman animals remain at the mercy of humans. In the third section, *care as an ethical obligation*, I raise the question of what we might learn about 'care' given its compromised practices, as evidenced throughout my research: what hope can we have for care, given its obvious dangers? In coming closer to an answer, I discuss the need to address particular human-animal entanglements and the challenges they represent in view of anthropocentrism. Furthermore, I draw on the feminist care tradition of animal ethics, which has formulated a relational basis on which to consider and reconsider the obligations of humans towards other animals.

Invisible Animals

Claims about the invisibility of nonhuman animals and the concealment of their suffering in industrialised factory farming have been a crucial part of decades of animal advocacy. Common activist strategies include disclosure of the conditions

in animal facilities through producing leaflets, videos or social media posts that display animal suffering. Since the public generally does not have access to industrial animal production sites, another prominent form of activism has been the use of undercover footage obtained by slaughterhouse and farm workers, or through trespass (Villanueva, 2017). More recently, a number of high-profile documentaries such as *Earthlings* (2005), *Meat the Truth* (2007), *Food Inc* (2008), *The Ghosts in Our Machine* (2013) and *Cowspiracy* (2014) follow a similar path of revealing the conditions of animal farming to the general public in order to spark a broader conversation about the treatment of nonhuman animals.

The invisibility of nonhuman animals and the violence they are subjected to has also been a topic of scholarly inquiry. In his ground-breaking, undercover ethnography into industrialised slaughter, *Every Twelve Seconds,* political scientist Timothy Pachirat (2011:3) observes how "distance and concealment operate as mechanisms of power in modern society" to shield and neutralise the killing of animals. Based on extensive ethnographic research, Pachirat offers a first-hand account of the experiences from the "kill floor" in a US processing plant. While Pachirat's explorations into industrialised slaughter confirm the concealment and distance of these facilities from society at large, his research also nuances and complicates how binaries such as visible/invisible, plain/hidden and open/confined play out. As he observes, in industrialised slaughter, concealment (of contaminated meat, labour conditions, etc.) is made possible despite the "ideal of total visibility" understood as extensive surveillance of workers and production lines.

Thus, Pachirat's ethnography demonstrates how industrialised slaughter is "hidden in plain sight," thereby capturing modernity's 'impulse' of hiding away that which is considered disturbing and repulsive, as famously presented in sociologist Norbert Elias' notable book *The Civilizing Process*. Thus, Pachirat's exploration includes a fascinating recap of standard sociological theses about concealment and sight in modern society (from Norbert Elias' *civilising process* through James C. Scott to Michel Foucault's *Panopticon*) demonstrating what he describes as "the capacity for surveillance and sight to reinforce, rather than subvert, distance and concealment" (ibid.:240).

In effect, Pachirat ends his monograph by contemplating the potential consequences for the counter-strategy based on what he describes as *a politics of sight*, "defined as organized, concerted attempts to make visible what is hidden and to breach, literally and figuratively, zones of confinement in order to bring

about social and political transformation" (ibid.:15). However, as Pachirat critically observes, the call for transparency in animal advocacy and the presumably 'shocking effects' of disclosing the conditions at US meat plants, is historically conditioned by concealment. In other words, this politics of sight "feeds off the very same mechanisms of distance and concealment that it seeks to overcome" (ibid.:252). Further, Pachirat reflects on the capacity of emotions such as shock, pity and disgust to carry "the burden of transformation", arguing that the relation between sight and political change needs further complication (ibid.:248). As he contends, a strategy of breaching confinement "must acknowledge the possibility that sequestration will continue" (ibid.:250).

In similarly addressing the issue of what sustains industrialised animal production despite its devastating consequences, socio-legal scholar Dinesh Wadiwel in *The War Against Animals* (2015) suggests that it is our predominant systems of knowledge that make the violence incomprehensible rather than the violence, per se, that is invisibilised. Thus, Wadiwel emphasises the fundamental role of knowledge systems in sustaining human domination. He suggests the concept of *epistemic violence*, as conceptualised in post-colonial theory, to complement inter-subjective and institutional conceptions of violence towards other animals. By distinguishing between these three forms of violence – inter-subjective, institutional and epistemic – Wadiwel adds important nuances to previous analyses of violence and domination at the human-animal interface. Concerning the notion of violence at the epistemic level, he observes the "violence of producing 'the animal' as an inferior entity" (ibid.:34) and further notes how: "categories of human and animal, superior and inferior, are constantly rearticulated, silencing the possibility of any response from "the animal" to our onslaught, and systematically rendering the event of violence as natural, friendly, humane or as a non event" (ibid.:36). Thus, by connecting violence to the epistemic level, Wadiwel captures how violence is perceived and not perceived at the inter-subjective and structural level.

It might be necessary to pause for a moment to reflect on two interrelated but slightly dissimilar articulations of the (in)visibility thesis in animal advocacy and scholarship, i.e. the difference between discussing the invisibility of nonhuman animals in themselves and the invisibility of the violence to which these animals are subjected. Wadiwel's work brings the two issues together as it is evident that the war against animals is characterised by the simultaneous production of invisible animals and invisible violence. Carol Adams' (1990) concept of *the absent*

referent further nuances the invisibility thesis. In *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, Adams observes how the invisibility – or absence, to use her own terminology – of nonhuman animals is not only rooted in the concrete concealment of contemporary farming facilities but operates in more tacit ways. Importantly, Adams (1990) observes how metaphors and the naming of meat turn nonhuman animals into edible objects. According to Adams, animals can become absent referents in three ways: firstly, in a literal sense: in order to become meat, the animal is necessarily dead, gone, absent. Secondly, through our language: they disappear when we name meat. Thirdly, we turn animals into metaphors for people's experiences (Adams, 1990). As we observe in Paper III, what follows from Adams' theoretical conclusions is that the imperative to stop the systematic violence towards other animals is to restore the absent referent or, in other words, make the animals present and visible as subjects – an endeavour that is deeply challenged using mainstream ways of addressing other animals, as this thesis demonstrates.

In brief, the aforementioned scholarly interventions make it clear that what is sometimes articulated as the challenge of making animals visible is much more complex and ambiguous in reality. In Paper II, I analyse how the monitoring of care on Danish farms by means of imposing particular regulatory schemes produces particular ways of 'seeing' and 'knowing' suffering. As the analysis demonstrates, the assessment and reporting on animal welfare breaches provide a highly selective view of what is currently happening in Danish farms, what I suggest by the term *curating suffering*. In Paper III, co-authored with Mathias Elrød Madsen, we nuance the role of sight even further in examining a recent example of the 'new visibility' of nonhuman animals in the gastronomic discourse. Through analysing various degrees of subjectification and objectification (Cole & Stewart, 2014), we show how the displayed animals, despite their increased visibility, remain objects of consumption and, as such, are hidden from view. Last, the analysis of sanctuaries in Paper IV can be analysed in terms of an activist strategy to make the conditions of farmed animals visible. However, as I will discuss in more detail below, the sanctuaries are extending the call for visibility into hands-on caregiving based on their ethical commitments to interspecies care.

The following section introduces an alternative way of engaging with the circumstances of farmed animals, bringing us further into the issue of the subject-object dichotomy. In particular, I will discuss the power imbued in responses to suffering.

Witnessing Suffering

Could it be that the challenge of society to make farming 'right' has less to do with the invisibility of animals per se but rather that the experiences of nonhuman animals are somehow rendered incomprehensible or inconceivable? In fact, a common strategy among animal activists is to focus on the suffering that nonhuman animals endure in current farming operations and, on this basis, reason about the experiences of pain and distress when fundamental needs, desires and interests are not met. However, activists often encounter a negative response regarding claims about the ability of other animals to feel pain, joy, etc. This is an issue philosopher Elisa Aaltola (2013) addresses in terms of widespread scepticism towards the mind and mental state of other animals, based on the perceived inability of gaining access to the subjective experiences of nonhuman animals, i.e. that one "cannot know for certain" (ibid.:457). While there can be moderate forms of scepticism, Aaltola is mostly concerned with its extreme forms in which absolute evidence is demanded, meaning that animal suffering is not considered in the same way as human suffering. Instead, sceptics request more specific evidence than would be necessary in order to contemplate human suffering. In validating similar psychological mechanisms regarding people's perception of the mental state of other animals, a recent study comprising over 2,000 research participants concluded that "participants consistently underestimated animals' minds, both in terms of the likelihood that they had mental capacities and that evidence of their minds was true" (Leach et al., 2023:16).

The aforementioned issues highlight the witnessing of suffering as a second key theme to address when analysing different strategies and responses to the situation of farmed animals. In this context, it is essential to stress how particular limited perceptions of suffering come to structure what might be considered 'appropriate' responses. Indeed, a number of scholars have warned against advocating for animals based on suffering (Bryant, 2006; Corman, 2017; Gruen, 2013; Oliver, 2008). For example, in her sympathetic critique of animal rights, Kelly Oliver problematises how the call to reduce suffering in the contemporary rights discourse places the burden of proof on nonhuman animals. She observes the widely cited quote from philosopher Jeremy Bentham: "The question is not, Can they reason? nor, Can they talk? But, Can they suffer?" – suggesting the irrelevance of cognitive and communicative abilities for determining moral principles – nevertheless still invokes a capacity-based approach to animal advocacy and

Animal Ethics (Oliver 2008:222). In supporting the language of rights in claims about the suffering endured by nonhuman animals, activists – however unintentionally – end up qualifying ethical considerations towards other animals vis-à-vis the human. Oliver further observes how emphasising the shared capacity of suffering in all animals "risks treating suffering as yet another capacity or identity that can be possessed, used to draw exclusionary lines, and measured in terms of man" (ibid. 222). Moreover, she notes the paradox of campaigning against animal suffering resulting in a quest for proof, thereby turning the debate about the treatment of other animals into an empirical question that might involve and legitimise animal experiments.

Similar concerns about the discourse of suffering in animal rights have also been raised regarding law, legal mobilisation and policy-making (Bryant, 2006; Deckha, 2021). As an incomplete political strategy, overall, the capacity-based approach to animal suffering becomes even more restrictive in its legal translation due to how the law is committed to principles of resolving disputes and making settlements between competing interests. In animal welfare law, this implies that only practices found to inflict "unnecessary suffering" will be banned. Legal scholar Taimie Bryant (2006) is concerned about how arguments based on "similarity" mean that other animals have to "qualify" to be entitled to protection by legal discourse. This is because in order to recognise the suffering of nonhuman animals, supporting evidence needs to be established and, in this regard, the human animal comes to serve as the yardstick. In effect, all suffering becomes ascribed to an essentially human-centred view guiding the legal framework. Moreover, this strategy makes the different and unique experiences and stories of other animals intangible. As Bryant writes: "The very significance of animals – the diversity they contain at the individual and collective levels – is lost in a paradigm that requires their categorisation by reference to the qualities by which humans define themselves" (ibid.:167–168). For instance, this critique has been raised against the recent attempts to mobilise the concept of legal personhood to claim particular rights for nonhuman animals, such as the right to self-determination (Deckha, 2021).[17]

[17] See, for example, the Nonhuman Rights Project. However, there might also be other ways of formulating "rights" that can potentially overcome these issues, such as Maneesha Deckha's concept of legal beingness (Deckha, 2021). Deckha shares Bryant's concern about the sameness logic. One of the issues with the capacity approach to suffering in legal reform is that it begins from a "devalued starting point" (Deckha 2021:138). Hence, it becomes a matter of law to affirm other animals as vulnerable subjects. In arguing for the concept of beingness to

Not only do predominant strategies to articulate animal suffering appear to reinforce human exceptionalism and species hierarchies but transforming animals into objects of compassion can also – paradoxically – come to silence the subjects at the receiving end (Deckha, 2021).[18] Elizabeth Spelman has been particularly attentive to this dynamic. In *Fruits of Sorrow*, Spelman (1998) observes the risks associated with empathetic identification with the experiences of others. She addresses in detail how the use of the analogy of slavery by the women's movement – though sympathetic to the enslaved and their historical struggle – ends up appropriating their suffering. Moreover, by revisiting the writings of the previously enslaved, Spelman forcefully depicts how the identification of white bourgeois women with the Black population became a way of silencing them, even if it also promoted a strong commitment to the anti-slavery movement. In the context of this research, I focus on the danger of silencing when not using or appropriating the experiences of some to draw attention to the suffering of others (for example, when women suffragists claimed to be treated like modern slaves) but the silencing that can emerge when narrating the meaning of the suffering of others further marginalises the sufferer (however, see Adams (2007) for the issue of using metaphors of meat and butchering to expose misogyny). Thus, Spelman stresses the importance of sufferers giving their own account.

Concerns about 'narrating' suffering appear to be even more troubling regarding other animals. Animal advocates often stress the need for human allies to expose and thereby define the suffering of other animals given that 'animals do not have a voice' and given their precarious and vulnerable position in exploitative systems. Accordingly, the best interests of animals are regarded as being delegated to human caretakers or some other representative. The problem here is not only the prominent examples of conflicting interests, such as when farmers and breeders claim to know what is best for their animals, but also the more tacit power of defining and ascribing meaning to the suffering of others. On this point, sociologist Lauren Corman (2017) is concerned with how mainstream animal

replace personhood, Deckha aims to overcome the humanist legacy that defines a certain human being (white, male, ableist) as the standard, which through history and up to the present day has resulted in racial, gendered and class-based inequality. This point demonstrates the need to engage post-colonial theory to understand the power embedded in the concept of 'the animal' and the underlying mechanisms through which othering operates.

[18] Post-colonial thinkers have importantly addressed the problem of speaking for others imbued in an imperial desire to know the Other.

advocacy reduces animal subjectivity to simplified representations of suffering and victimisation and instead calls for richer and more nuanced versions of nonhuman life to inform activism.

In contrast to the approach to suffering based on capacity or identity, Kelly Oliver suggests an ethics of responsiveness/responsivity in order to overcome the subject-object dichotomy, which is based on asymmetrical power relations from the outset. According to Oliver, a *response ethics* is committed to the issue of how individuals become subjects in relationships of "address and response" (Oliver, 2001, 2018). Thus, Oliver fundamentally asserts the connection between subjectivity and witnessing. As she writes: "Addressability and response-ability are the conditions for subjectivity. The subject is the result of a response to an address from another and of the possibility of addressing itself to another" (2015:485). Further, witnessing has a double meaning: it implies giving evidence in the sense of being an eyewitness, but it can also mean "to bear witness" to that which cannot directly be observed. In a notable segment from the opening of *Witnessing* (2001), Oliver offers a powerful reinterpretation of a first-person account by a Jewish woman and Holocaust survivor who recalls four chimneys being blown up during the Auschwitz uprising. While historians regarded the woman's testimony as not credible and, as such, "unreliable," Oliver – in drawing on the interpretation of a psychoanalyst – emphasises the profound meaning of this testimony as making "what seemed impossible possible: surviving the Holocaust" (ibid.:1). As such, the woman's testimony highlights how witnessing is "always in tension with eyewitness testimony" (ibid.:2).

Oliver considers witnessing to present a powerful framework beyond the politics of recognition.[19] Defining her view on the ethics of response and witnessing, she writes: "It is an ethics of the responsibility to enable responses from others, not as it has been defined as the exclusive property of man (man responds, animals react), but rather as it exists all around us" (2010:280). Hence,

[19] To better understand the response ethics that Oliver proposes, it is relevant to point out how she situates her work in relation to contemporary neo-Hegelian and post-structural thinkers concerned with 'recognition' to overcome othering (in particular, Oliver mentions the work of Judith Butler, Axel Honneth and Charles Taylor). Oliver considers that the call for recognition is incapable of breaking free from the structures it aims to overturn. The problem, Oliver explains, is that the politics of recognition appears to be founded on an idea of "antagonistic struggles for recognition." Paradoxically, this focus on conflict comes to define subject positions that contribute to sustaining the dominant position of the Western subject (ibid.:4). As Oliver contends, "the need to demand recognition from the dominant culture or group is a symptom of the pathology of oppression" (ibid.:9).

bearing witness become a process that is deeply committed to the other, enabling response and response-ability, breaking with common ways of making claims on behalf of the other.[20] On this point, Oliver's response ethics addresses how the sufferer in processes of witnessing can be better positioned to narrate their own suffering, recalling Spelman's cautionary remark from the previous section. As other scholars have noted, bearing witness become a way to overcome the insufficient and fraudulent responses related to "distant suffering" – that is, the kind of suffering that is displayed through the media and news reporting, which largely fail to promote any viable way of responding (Boltanski, 1999; Kurasawa, 2009).

In addressing the notion of bearing witness in the encounter with a particular nonhuman animal other, Kathryn Gillespie (2016) and Maneesha Deckha (2019) address the role of empathetic and emotional responses in face-to-face encounters (e.g. "feeling with" and the sharing of the emotional burden) in cultivating response-ability. For example, Gillespie discusses how witnessing provides an alternative way of responding to a sense of hopelessness and apathy when confronted by extreme violence, such as in her research on cattle in auction houses. As Deckha (2019) comments, such acts of witnessing engender empathy and compassion while ascribing subjectivity to nonhuman animals. Even if witnessing does not directly lead the situation of the particular animals to change, it momentarily "integrate farmed animals in emotional and bodily affective and material exchanges that socially subjectify animals" (ibid.:109). However, Deckha also cautions against "simply celebrating this subjectification in and of itself, but also remaining accountable to it" (ibid.:97). This partially requires careful consideration of the interest of the specific other "rather than presuming our actions, motivated as they may by care, love, and non-violence, are always benign" (ibid.:98).

The topic of witnessing animal suffering is raised in the different papers comprising this thesis. In Paper II, I discuss acts of eyewitnessing when veterinary officers and technicians go out to collect evidence of animal suffering in order to file a case against a farmer. In this context, the role of veterinary practices is tied to a legal and bureaucratic structure that shapes the specific responses to neglectful care and management at Danish farms. The example of responsible meat eating

[20] Note that the hyphenated term *response-ability* occur both in the writings of Kelly Oliver and Donna Haraway, but here I refer to Oliver's intentional use of the term to emphasise the ethical obligation of *enabling response*.

analysed in Paper III also relates to the notion of witnessing as the TV show contestants are challenged to face the animal behind the meat and "look the animal in the eyes." In comparing the two aforementioned instances of eyewitnessing, we might say that the veterinary officers and technicians conduct a form of eyewitnessing related to collecting evidence, which is grounded in a similar subject-object dichotomy as are at work in the notion of facing the animal charged with the discomfort of and unease with killing. Both instances of witnessing are based on ethical considerations by acknowledging the harm and suffering inflicted on nonhuman animals, although the animals at the receiving end remain objects, not subjects of care. In contrast, the sanctuaries analysed in Paper IV bring us closer to Oliver's second meaning of witnessing, namely, bearing witness as an ultimate act of subjectification (Deckha, 2019).

In proposing this interpretation of witnessing, it is important for me to underscore that I do not mean to suggest that other responses to suffering are impossible given the particular social structures that constitute regulation and consumption. Yet, my aim is to emphasise the significance of how particular structural settings condition response. On this note, it is also worth recalling an important caveat from Paper III regarding what can be concluded on the basis of the TV show. As we discussed in the paper, the format of the TV show implies that only an edited view of the individual participant's experiences is made available to us as viewers. Hence, we cannot know whether the participants responded in any other way either during or after the recording of the show.

Care as an Ethical Obligation

The third key theme of this research is about care as emerging in conjunction with the ethical commitment to respond to the situation of farmed animals in industrialised production. The paradoxical nature of the caring attitudes of humans towards other animals is perhaps most prominently captured by Yi-Fu Tuan in his ground-breaking book *Dominance and Affection: The Making of Pets* (1984), in which he investigates the complex relations to the animals that are often claimed to be 'dearest' to us humans. As Tuan observes: "The word care so exudes humaneness that we tend to forget its almost inevitable tainting by patronage and condescension in our imperfect world" (ibid.:5). In this context, the previously discussed issue of anthropocentrism and the subject-object dichotomy reveal and

add further nuances to how nonhuman animals can remain exposed to the threat of violence, even when figuring as 'objects of care.'

Previous critical scholarship on care has suggested that there remains a tendency in research "to ignore the gap between the ideal of 'care' and the ways in which caring can be used to exert power, through force, manipulation and neglect to induce dependence" (Bowlby et al., 2010). In similarly acknowledging care as a compromised practice, feminist science scholar María Puig de la Bellacasa (2017) recently warned against romanticising care. As she contends, caring "involves material engagement in labours to sustain interdependent worlds, labours that are often associated with exploitation and domination," and adds, "the meanings of caring are not straightforward" (ibid.:198). Importantly, Puig de la Bellacasa calls attention to powerful configurations of care in particular more-than-human entanglements related to marketing and consumerism (e.g. green products, buying recycled items) and neoliberal governance imperatives of fostering individuals who care for themselves, their bodies and what they consume (ibid.).

What are the implications of this clear ambiguity in care for a critical project devoted to 'caring better'? Puig de la Bellacasa (2010) further takes issue with normative moralistic visions of care calling for an alternative conceptualisation of care based on non-innocence and non-idealisation. Importantly, Puig de la Bellacasa envisions a speculative project in line with the feminist tradition of provoking ethical and political imagination. According to this author, what is essential is not to steer clear of all ambiguities in care but to reclaim it "from tendencies to smooth out its asperities – whether by idealizing or denigrating it" (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017:10–11). In presenting her alternative theory of a situated ethics, Puig de la Bellacasa (2010, 2017) takes her point of departure in the celebrated definition of care offered by Fisher & Tronto (1990, 40, emphasis in original):

> On the most general level, we suggest that caring be viewed as a *species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue and repair 'our world' so that we can live in it as well as possible*. The world includes our bodies, our selves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web.

Based on this generic definition, Puig de la Bellacasa (2017:5) argues for defining care as transgressing the dimensions of "labor/work, affect/affections, ethics/politics." Accordingly, as she states, a politics of care "engages much more than a moral stance; it involves affective, ethical, and hands-on agencies of

practical and material consequences" (ibid.:3). In particular, the moral and practical dimensions equally at stake create a tension which, according to the author, illustrates the difference between caring about and putting the work into caring for (ibid., 2017:5).

While Puig de la Bellacasa's critical project and perspectives on care and ethics with a focus on situatedness and embodiment do well to highlight the need for a more open-ended approach to the many dimensions of care, it nevertheless represents certain limitations in confronting the pervasive anthropocentric structures and histories that shape practices of care in the present, as I discuss in Paper IV. For Puig de la Bellacasa, her alternative articulation of an ethics of care appears to be in line with the recent and promising more-than-human entanglements that pose a challenge to anthropocentrism. For example, in her discussion of the permaculture movement, Puig de la Bellacasa notes: in permaculture, it is the ethos of care that ground ethical principles, rather than the other way around (Ibid. 2010). This alternative conception of care brings her to coin the concept of *ethical doing* as key to contemplating ethical obligations as the concept might provide an alternative to a humanist framework characterised by principles articulated by humans.

Against the widely celebrated notion of entanglement in posthumanist scholarship, cultural theorist Eva Haifa Giraud (2019) observes how we cannot assume that embodied, situated care necessarily challenges anthropocentrism. In drawing on her own studies of laboratory experiments conducted on beagles, Giraud observes how the apparent lack of resistance on the part of the dogs, which has been interpreted as a form of consent by the laboratory scientists, highlights the potential shortcomings of adopting a framework that only focuses on entanglements to resolve ethical issues. In this particular instance, what is excluded are the underlying structures and practices that allow the specific interaction between the scientists and the dogs to take place in the first place. According to Giraud (2019:130): "a focus on bodily encounters, in other words, can neglect what has already been excluded from a situation in order for an encounter to take place."

In coming closer to identifying more benevolent animal encounters while maintaining a critical view of care, it is worth calling to mind the rich tradition in feminist animal care theory regarding the role of empathy and compassion to counter human dominance and exceptionalism (Donovan & Adams, 2007; Gaard, 2011; Gruen, 2013; Kheel, 2008). For instance, the work of Lori Gruen

(2013) on *entangled empathy* focuses on the role of concrete relationships in nurturing and developing empathy in response to the needs, interests and desires of other animals. Gruen's writings reflect the importance of the feminist tradition in highlighting situated and embodied practices of care rather than universal frameworks, which tend to overlook the significance of empathy and emotions in the pursuit of abstract rules.[21] Instead, Gruen takes a starting point in how as humans we always find ourselves in embodied relationships with other animals and contends that our obligations to other animals should always be articulated on this basis. Gruen also discusses the issue of empathetic mistakes such as "affective ignorance" and "disengagement" that denote the failure to account for the suffering of others. For example, people might without sufficient effort claim that they are unable 'to take in' the tremendous suffering inflicted on farmed animals and, as a consequence, fail to take responsibility for the abusive relationships that they contribute to sustain.

Based on the empirical analyses conducted in this research, three different contexts of delving into the issues about care in response to ethical commitment emerge: from the way in which the state governs human-animal relations by means of monitoring care to ensure 'well-cared-for' animals on Danish farms – i.e. *care through regulation* – through the efforts to negotiate better terms for responsible meat consumption – *care through eating* – and finally, to the sanctuaries' caregiving practices – *care as sanctuary-making* – which aim to end the harmful rearing of animals altogether. These rather distinct modes of care clearly illustrate how care is a comprehensive concept that has many applications in everyday life. By labelling all of these strategies under the same rubric of 'care,' I think it is reasonable to question my use of 'care' as a catch-all term as it runs the risk of further diminishing the critical meaning of the term. Yet, for the purpose of my analysis, I have found it necessary to retain these distinct uses of care in order to analyse the differences in ethical commitments and affordances.

Concerning the role of veterinary practices in agro-industrial regulatory schemes, the care provided for animals subjected to the impact of industrialised farming remains far removed from the underlying commitment to attend to their well-being (Paper II). Similarly, caring for animals by eating them seems ethically

[21] Since their early days, feminist animal care ethicists have made it their primary task to offer alternative frameworks to utilitarian and deontological animal ethics associated with prominent figures such as Peter Singer (2009 [1990]) and Tom Regan (1983), hence suggesting a relational basis on which to consider human-animal relations.

compromised and unable to deliver on an empathetic impulse of facing the animal (as discussed in Paper III). In contrast, interspecies care at the sanctuary – although unable to fully realise its own aspirations – nevertheless presents a vision of an ethics of care that appears to be able to guide the transition away from extensive neglect towards a potential for intra- and interspecies care. In calling sanctuary caregiving in terms of *post-domestic care*, I emphasise how non-anthropocentric care is about providing alternative ideas regarding multispecies life in domestic settings (Paper IV).

In ending this chapter, I pose the question: what potential new perspectives relevant to developing a non-anthropocentric foundation for care in law and beyond can be created on the basis of my research? What could we learn about the harms of care and potential ways of overcoming anthropocentrism? As much as I hope that my research will help to foreground particularly harmful ways of caring and concrete ways forward, I believe María Puig de la Bellacasa does well to take a speculative approach to her critical project of 'caring better.' In echoing her view, the success of a critical interspecies conception of care should not be measured in terms of its ability to completely remove care from every kind of harm but its applicability in terms of informing and guiding political aspirations to achieve genuinely responsible multispecies encounters and collectives. In relation to law, the perspectives on care I unfold over the three empirical papers call into question previous reforms by underscoring the ways in which the framework of animal protection has contributed to sustaining the level of exploitation in the animal industry. Concerning the issue of overcoming this current impasse, I believe it is essential that we maintain the focus on interspecies care as a vital necessity for society and therefore, continue to engage in conversations that can critically reflect over the multifaceted meanings of care.

Methodology

This chapter outlines the specific methodology used in the research and provides an overview of the material generated in each of the studies. More specifically, I discuss my use of qualitative interviews, participant observation and text analysis strategies. The chapter also includes a discussion of my main ethical considerations in which I reflect on particular issues that emerged when conducting my research at multispecies sites. Finally, I reflect on some limitations and delimitations related to my research methodology.

Qualitative Interviews

Two of the empirical studies used qualitative interviewing as a method: the study of the regulatory schemes imposed on Danish farmers (Paper II) and the study of farmed animal sanctuaries (Paper IV). Interviewing is a standard method of collecting or gathering empirical material that can serve different purposes in social analysis and theory-building. In this context, I would like to emphasise the selective aspect of collecting empirical material (Mason, 2018).

Concerning the study of veterinary inspectors and technicians, the purpose of conducting interviews was to gain insight into the work of assessing animal welfare on Danish farms by gathering first-person accounts that testify to the embodied practices and procedures involved in collecting evidence and reporting potential infringements. The research was conducted using a semi-structured interview guide, which (at least on paper) followed a simple structure. After gaining some personal and biographical information (age, gender, education and previous work experience), I asked the participants to describe a recent inspection by taking me through each stage from when they arrived at the farm to the moment they identified something that needed reporting. For this part of the interview, I intended to move beyond the traditional question-answer format (Kartch, 2017)

in order to facilitate more extensive accounts of witnessing suffering. I was particularly aware of descriptions of suffering and the assessment of both the pigs and the farmers. In order to encourage the participants to expand on their answers and offer their personal and reflective opinions, I used probing questions such as "have you experienced anything like this before? How did this make you feel? What was your initial reaction to that?" The last part of the interview was dedicated to more narrowly defined questions about bureaucratic procedures and legal interpretations. However, each interview ended with a question about the participant's general perception of animal welfare issues and the challenges of current farming practices in order to facilitate a more open-ended discussion about this topic. These interviews were a crucial aspect of the empirical material gathered for this study, providing me with a deep understanding of the complexity of on-farm animal welfare assessments and the way in which 'seeing' and 'knowing' suffering plays out in this context.

Preparation for these interviews required some familiarity with the legal framework and the official guidelines on how to conduct inspections as laid out by the Danish authorities (see Hammerslev & Nielsen, 2020 on carrying out socio-legal research). I also conducted a few informal background interviews: one with an anthropologist at Aarhus University who wrote her doctoral thesis on this topic and another with a former employee of the Veterinary and Food Administration and last, I interviewed a representative of a Danish animal charity who had been following the developments over the past years. My initial contact with the researcher at Aarhus University turned out to be crucial as she kindly offered to put me in touch with some veterinary inspectors she knew from before. As I later learned, moving through the formal channels was not only a slow and inefficient process, but ultimately also an unsuccessful strategy. In the end, the recruitment of research participants was based on a snowball sampling method (Mason, 2018).

The interviews are listed in the table below. Of the eight persons I interviewed, five were veterinarians and two were technicians from different educational backgrounds. Six were female and two were male. They were between 28 and 54 years of age.

Table 1. Interviews with animal welfare inspectors (Paper II)

Interviewee	Employer/ Agency	Years of employ-ment	Time and Place of interview	Duration of inter-view
Technician	Danish Agricultural Agency (pigs)	2	17 December 2021 Zoom interview	58
State veterinarian	Danish Veterinary and Food Administration (cattle)	7	14 January 2022 Zoom interview	1:10
State veterinarian	Danish Veterinary and Food Administration (pigs)	4	20 January 2022 Phone interview	1:40
Team manager	Danish Agricultural Agency	6	25 January 2022 Phone interview	-
Technician	Danish Veterinary and Food Administration (pigs)	3	8 February 2022 Zoom interview	1:09
State veterinarian	Danish Veterinary and Food Administration (pigs)	5 1/2	9 February 2022 Phone interview	1:30
State veterinarian	Danish Veterinary and Food Administration (pigs)	6	15 February 2022 Phone interview	1:15
State veterinarian	Danish Agricultural Agency (pigs)	7	21 February 2022 Phone interview	1:50

In general, the lingering effects of the COVID-19 pandemic impacted my empirical data collection in many ways. When I was planning to conduct this study in the autumn of 2021, I was once again seeing increasing numbers of COVID-19 cases being reported in Denmark. Moreover, I quickly realised that the inspectors' willingness to participate relied on some flexibility on my part. Conducting on-farm inspections means that the veterinary officers and technicians spend many hours on the road and many of my interviewees preferred to conduct the interviews over the phone. In the end, all of the interviews with the inspectors were conducted over the phone or via Zoom. It is difficult to pin down the consequences of conducting the interviews at a distance. It is certainly contrary to how non-verbal communication is generally highlighted as key to qualitative research, not least because of the impact of the asymmetrical relationship between the interviewer and interviewee (Mason, 2018). However, considering the non-sensitive nature of the topic and the general willingness to engage in virtual meetings due to the pandemic, the participants appeared to be comfortable about conducting the interviews at a distance.

Turning to the sanctuary study, I was also faced with the challenge of conducting this research during the pandemic, as described in Paper IV. The study took place during the autumn of 2020 when I visited three different sanctuaries in Denmark. However, at the time, one of them was only partially open and was no longer

taking in new animals. Soon after I had established my first contact, I was welcomed to the sanctuaries to either conduct interviews or visit with the purpose of conducting participant observation. Before conducting the interviews and/or visits, I submitted a brief project description presenting myself and the aim of my study together with some additional details, for example, about consent and confidentially (see also the ethics section below).

There were two kinds of interviews with the primary caregivers and volunteers: a) formal interviews conducted either on site, at their private homes, or at a distance (phone or virtual), or b) informal interviews (or conversations) during my visits. The formal interviews were conducted with the primary caregivers and a few key volunteers involved in running the sanctuaries (see table below). The interviews were based on a semi-structured interview guide covering three main themes: 1) background and history of the specific sanctuary, including biographical information about the sanctuary caregiver being interviewed; 2) background information about the nonhuman residents, including information about their rescue and their current situation, and 3) descriptions of the everyday practices of sanctuary caregiving including the relevant legal and financial aspects and challenges.

Table 2. Interviews with sanctuary caregivers and volunteers (Paper IV)

Interviewee	Time and place of interview	Duration of interview
Two primary caregivers	10 September 2020 On site interview	2:00:00
Primary caregiver	19 September 2020 Phone interview	1:46:22
Volunteer	23 September 2020 Facetime interview	1:18:00
Primary caregiver	11 October 2020 On site interview	2:00:00
Volunteer	16 October 2020 Facetime interview	0:40.00
Volunteer	17 November 2020 Interview in private home	1:24:44

The interviewees were between 20 and 60 years of age. Of the seven interviewees, six of them were women, which confirms that more women than men are involved in animal care and advocacy. A significant part of the interviews concerned the participants' personal journeys to becoming involved in the sanctuary movement, their vision of the sanctuary and first-hand accounts of rescue and care. As an aspiring socio-legal researcher, I was particularly interested in the experience of sanctuary-making vis-à-vis the law, which I mainly considered as a potential site of conflict given the animals' legal status as property and since legal mobilisation

or legal claims did not seem particularly relevant to their advocacy. The perception of law as a site of injustice was largely confirmed during the interviews, although in ways I had not anticipated. During the interviews and my visits to the sanctuaries, a plethora of ways in which the law obstructed sanctuary-making emerged, as also described in Paper IV.

Finally, by supplementing the participant observation as described below, the interviews offered me an opportunity to learn more about the individual nonhuman residents, about their past and their arrival at the sanctuary, about the costly and time-consuming maintenance work that sanctuary-making involves, the challenges of finding appropriate veterinary assistance, unwelcoming (or even hostile) neighbours and the discomfort caused by being dependent on farming infrastructure in order to access hay, tools, equipment and expertise.

Participant Observation

Participant observation was used for the sanctuary study presented in Paper IV. A total of six observations were performed at three different locations (one to two observations at each location), where each visit lasted four to six hours. Most of the observations were conducted on volunteer days when people take part in maintenance work. However, one observation was conducted in an ordinary setting and another observation was conducted when I took part in an open-house event. During or after these visits, I jotted down my reflections and observations from the day, which I subsequently translated into field notes focusing on key incidents, details, sequence and atmosphere (Wästerfors, 2018).

The added value of performing observations is the potential of this method to be more inclusive towards other animals compared to standard qualitative methods that are heavily dependent on discourse. As discussed in Paper IV, multispecies ethnography might be a particularly suitable means of gathering empirical material in more-than-human sites, simultaneously demonstrating how research methods generally privilege the significance of humans in making social worlds (Kirksey & Helmreich, 2010; Ogden et al., 2013). According to Ogden et al. (2013:6), multispecies ethnography is defined by ethnographic research and writing that is attuned to life's emergence within a shifting assemblage of agentive beings. Thus, multispecies ethnography denotes the attempt at defining and locating new ways of accounting for the shared more-than-human world by

developing more multispecies-inclusive methods and ways of posing research questions (Hamilton & Taylor, 2017; Ogden et al., 2013).

In an educational setting, cultural geographer Kathryn Gillespie (2019) discusses ways of becoming attuned to the lifeworld of other nonhumans when preparing to carry out multispecies ethnography. For example, Gillespie highlights the role of critically reflecting on positionality as a researcher vis-à-vis the other animals. In this regard, she proposes that part of the field notes should be dedicated to asking about the experiences of other animals in order to reduce the risk of only considering nonhuman animals in the abstract or as a 'specimen' (ibid.). Inspired by this, I considered the best way of approaching the sanctuary as a community comprising many unique individuals, although I was limited by the time I spent at each site and how my main research objective was dedicated to examining human responses to animal suffering. On this point, my initial choice of research focus reflects a persistent debate within critical animal scholarship about the extent to which it is ethically justifiable to include nonhuman animals as research participants even when attempting to overcome human-centeredness in knowledge production (Dinker & Pedersen, 2016). In this regard, it is essential to carefully and critically ponder the question of when it is in the best interests of other animals to form part of the research. A further caveat regarding the potential of multispecies ethnography relates to the impact of powerlessness on the researcher when exposed to animal suffering and death (García, 2019; Mc Loughlin, 2022).

Text analysis

The research is based on various kinds of text analysis. Not only have I carried out a textual analysis of the inspection reports and official documents in Paper II, but all empirical material has undergone textual analysis. The transcribed interviews, field notes and the content of the TV show were analysed using different strategies of thematic analysis. In all cases, identifying relevant themes was partly based on my overarching research questions and, when applicable, the specific interview questions. I also identified a number of subthemes when analysing the material. In this regard, the theories and concepts I engaged with played a significant role, for instance, guiding how I organised and sorted the material in terms of topics

such as 'eyewitnessing,' 'suffering,' 'evidence,' 'exercise of authority,' 'ethical commitment' and 'care.'

Concerning the study of animal welfare inspections as presented in Paper II, the empirical material comprises the transcribed interviews, inspection reports, official administrative guidelines and related political agreements and legal provisions (see table below). For this analysis, I used Nvivo software because of the extensive amount of material collected. This software was used in the coding and was useful in keeping track of the different sources. For the study about responsible meat consumption presented in Paper III, we jotted down our observations and reflections as we watched each episode of the show, which we subsequently analysed according to Carol Bacchi's (1999) critical policy analysis *What is the Problem Represented to Be?* This strategy of analysing material proved particularly useful, guiding our understanding of the main aspects of the framing of the show. Finally, regarding the sanctuary study, I analysed my field notes and transcribed the interviews manually following the themes as described above. Further, my approach to the ethnographic material is informed by the assertion that ethnographic writing begins in the field – an observation that complicates the classical distinction between that which has been observed on site and that which is later analysed as the researcher returns to the office (Strathern, 1999).

Table 3. Analysed documents about animal welfare inspections (Paper II)

Analysed documents
Inspection reports, pig farms, 2021 (retrieved from the Danish Veterinary and Food Administration)
Veterinary agreements (***Veterinærforlig I, II, III***)
The general guidelines provided by the Danish Veterinary and Food Administration (***Fødevarestyrelsens generelle kontrolvejledning,*** rev. 2021); The Veterinary and Food Administration's Guideline on Animal Welfare Inspections on Pig Farms (***Vejledning til kontrol af dyrevelfærd i grisebesætninger,*** rev. 2021)
The Danish Animal Welfare Act no. 133 of 25 February 2020 (***Dyrevelfærdsloven***); provisions regarding minimum standards for keeping pigs (***bekendtgørelse om dyrevelfærdsmæssige mindstekrav til hold af grise*** *BEK* no. 1742 of 30 November 2020); provisions regarding the duties of veterinarians (***Bekendtgørelsen af lov om dyrelæger*** LBK no. 1523 of 26 October 2020)

Ethical Considerations

First and foremost, this research has been carried out with a concern about how it could benefit or harm nonhuman animals. Beyond recognising the pain and distress inflicted on farmed animals in systems of exploitation, this research has addressed the power embedded in knowledge (Wadiwel, 2015). A primary focus of the research has been the harm inflicted by seemingly benign efforts related to care that built on relationships imbued with power: for example, the power involved in making claims on behalf of others about their desires and preferences and what suffering might mean to them. This critical perspective on knowledge production makes a claim to reflexivity on the part of the researcher. In this thesis, I have relied on a form of notation that at least momentarily disrupts the symbolic violence embedded in a language that fails to assign subjectivity to animals (for example, avoiding referring to individual animals as *it*, using *who* rather than *which*). I have also attempted to critically analyse and uncover powerful representations of animals that occur in public discourse and the media, and more generally in ways of 'seeing' and 'knowing' animals. Finally, I have attempted to foster methodological sensitivity towards the experiences of other animals, and the ethics of investigating multispecies sites, as discussed above concerning multispecies ethnography (see also, Tumilty et al., 2018).

My general view of research ethics echoes the view that ethical considerations are relevant to all phases of research: from defining the research topic to choosing appropriate methods, carrying out the analysis and choosing platforms for dissemination and publication. Furthermore, sociologist Sara Eldén (2020) raises an important issue in the distinction she makes between the ethical issues we anticipate and prepare to address as part of carrying out research as well as the ethical issues that emerge that require constant scrutiny of potential ethical dilemmas and preparedness for the unforeseen (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004).

One crucial aspect of research ethics concerns participant consent (human and nonhuman). I approach consent as something that is continuously negotiated through all stages of research. Having made initial contact with the research participants, I provided information about the purpose of the study, recording and data storage, pseudonymisation, the option to withdraw at any time and how I would later make use of the empirical material I had gathered. The same information was provided immediately before the interviews were conducted and the participants were again informed about the option to withdraw at any time

without having to provide a specific reason. When performing the observations, I informed the relevant volunteers about my presence as a researcher, the purpose of my research, and how I would use the empirical material. In Paper IV, I also reflect on the issue of consent in a multispecies context in which consent cannot be obtained in the same way as for human participants.

The study on farmed animal sanctuaries has been approved by *The Swedish Ethical Review Authority* since it concerns sensitive personal data and potentially also information about legal offences such as civil disobedience or trespass. The working definition of sensitive personal data as it appears in Swedish legislation concerning the ethical review of research includes information about political opinions and philosophical beliefs, which might also apply to personal and political convictions regarding animal ethics and/or rights. I have also applied for an ethical review of the inspection reports, since these include information on identifiable persons regarding infringements. Gathering this material involved storing it on an encrypted and password-protected hard disk, which is kept in a locked safe at the university.

Ethical approval was not obtained in Denmark as there is no equivalent authority to the Swedish Ethical Review Authority, except in the case of medical and experimental research involving human and nonhuman research subjects. Instead, some Danish university faculties offer to review project plans if required, for instance, by an external funder. This service is only available to researchers employed at Danish universities. However, all research conducted at private and public research institutions and universities in Denmark must follow the principles laid out in the *Danish Code of Conduct for Research Integrity*. I have read this code of conduct and can confirm that my research follows the relevant principles.

Limitations and Delimitations

Writing this thesis presented multiple challenges. On the one hand, care and responses to animal suffering is an excellent subject for a doctoral degree, given the complexity and ambiguity that characterise human relationships with other animals. I have had sufficient background material, so to speak. On the other hand, it has been difficult to delineate the subject in order to transform it into a tangible and solid research project without losing sight of the essential nuances.

In the end, the subject prompted me to use a research design consisting of three separate empirical studies, each with their own distinctive methods of gathering data and conducting analyses. Being situated in the qualitative research tradition made it possible to 'jump' from one study to another, to think through and analyse the differences related to common themes such as 'visibility,' 'witnessing,' 'care,' 'ethical commitments' and 'anthropocentrism' across the three domains. However, the inclusion of multiple research sites also had its limitations in terms of gathering data and my ability to sufficiently focus on the various aspects that the research was supposed to illuminate. A further challenge in this regard relates to writing an article-based thesis in which each article involves a restrictive word count and the production of 'closed' arguments targeting a specific journal or edited collection. It is important to note that this thesis does not offer an exhaustive analysis of responses to animal suffering. Instead, I have attempted to highlight what I believe are significant aspects, providing a context to further engage with and discuss 'care' across different domains.

This brings me to the last issue I would like to raise in this section, namely, the issue of "methodological nationalism" as previously debated in the social sciences (Sassen, 2010). This discussion is mainly about what has been described as a tendency to assign too much explanatory power to the nation-state and to further question the nation-state as a sufficient unit of analysis in a globalised world (ibid.). This methodological concern can help draw attention to some further limitations and delimitations of this research. As I alluded to in the introduction, the ways in which nonhuman animals are reduced to commodities in contemporary society is deeply connected to global capitalist structures. Thus, from the outset, I was wary of the inherent risk of overemphasising the significance of Denmark as a geographical and cultural unit of analysis. After all, the ways in which animal suffering are addressed are not particularly 'Danish' in nature but are influenced by global networks of food production and policies developed and informed by international organisations and governing bodies (notably, in this context the EU). However, as I hope this research has sufficiently emphasised, it is important to address the specific role played by the Danish public and media, for example, related to the self-perception of Denmark as a farmers' country and a pig-breeding nation (Anneberg & Bubandt, 2016; Karrebæk, 2021). Further, the ways in which regulatory schemes are designed and implemented also appear to be country-specific, even if most of the provisions regarding animal welfare are developed by the EU.

Summary of Papers

Paper I

Beyond Law's Anthropocentrism. A sociolegal Reflection on Animal Law and the More-Than-Human Turn

In this explorative paper, co-authored with Måns Svensson, we examine the emerging body of scholarship that has recently started incorporating more-than-human perspectives in the nexus of law, society and animals. While 'more-than-human' refers to a plurality of theoretical positions, for our purpose, we take these positions to reflect the attempt to move away from human exceptionalism in favour of a multispecies account of the world that reflects the social, political and ethical significance of nonhuman animals. Our objectives as we investigate the potential of more-than-human law are threefold: (a) to review recent developments in legal and socio-legal research that adopt a more-than-human framework, (b) to bring this strand of more-than-human studies into conversation with animal law scholarship, and (c) to explore how the empirical tradition of the sociology of law can contribute to such conversations.

This paper addresses the tensions between the more-than-human and animal law as two distinct strands of scientific inquiry, i.e. between scholarship that generally adopts a more critical and theory-driven approach to law and advocacy-oriented scholarship that upholds a liberal and human-centred understanding of 'Western' law. In this regard, we assert that empirical, socio-legal analysis can help facilitate further exchange by means of integrating and combining internal and external approaches to the study of law. In making this point, we draw on the classical distinction in the sociology of law between the insider and the outsider view, i.e. between law and its commitment to produce ad hoc knowledge and sociology and the attempt to reveal sites of power (Banakar, 1998).

Further, based on literature review, we identify three critical intersecting themes that mark the past and future contributions of socio-legal and

interdisciplinary inquiry to the study of animals and law: 1) the exploration of the co-constitutive relations between law, space and human-animal relations; 2) the politics of caring for animals (biopolitics and asymmetrical power relations); and 3) pluralistic, anomalous and multispecies notions of law. Finally, we suggest that an essential task of empirical socio-legal research is to explore and contemplate the complex social, political and ethical implications of contemporary legal animal protection, the limitations of anthropocentric law, and – by extension – call into question the very meaning of "caring for animals."

Paper II

Monitoring Care, Curating Suffering. Law, Bureaucracy and Veterinary Practices in Contemporary Animal Politics

This paper addresses animal welfare policies in Denmark in order to contemplate broader aspects of the current state of animal politics in the 21st century. Departing from 'care' and 'industry' – two topics of scholarly inquiry that are rarely placed together in the context of animal welfare – this paper examines how the suffering of animals has become entangled with industrial farming. In analysing responses to suffering in the context of agro-industrial policy, the paper emphasises an issue that remains at the margin of most writings on animal politics in the 'post-industrial' era, i.e. the significant role of law and state bureaucracy in fostering caring attitudes towards animals.

The analysed material comprises inspection reports and interviews with veterinary officers and technicians charged with controlling the welfare of farmed pigs. The paper explores how animal welfare inspectors, through what I describe as acts of *juridical eyewitnessing*, monitor the level of care on farms. In analysing animal care as mandated, enforced and negotiated between law, state bureaucracy and veterinary practices, I emphasise the role of agro-industrial policies in defining human-animal relations and what is deemed acceptable responses to the suffering on farms.

Finally, the paper includes the example of the Danish colonial project of commercialising whaling in Greenland. In juxtaposing present-day attempts to 'instill' a particular sense of care and sensitivity in Danish farmers with similar efforts employed to foster 'effective' Inuit whale hunters in the past, the paper demonstrates how state-based attempts to create distance and closeness between

'animals' and people ensure the continuity in animal politics across time. In this regard, the paper reflects on the role of the state in defining human-animal relations and – by extension – offers an alternative interpretation of the evolution of anti-suffering sentiment.

Paper III

Kill Your Favorite Dish. Examining the Role of New Carnivorism in Perpetuating Meat Eating

Paper III, co-authored with Mathias Elrød Madsen, examines an example of the recent trend towards responsible meat consumption in the form of a Danish TV Show called *Kill Your Favorite Dish*. As an illustrative case of a broader tendency in gastronomic discourse called *New Carnivorism* (Parry, 2010), the TV show represents a conspicuous break from the concealment of the killing of animals that became pronounced during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Further, through a format that combines elements from reality TV and popular cooking shows, *Kill Your Favorite Dish* invites viewers to learn more about the origins of the meat on their plates in order to re-establish a connection to the animal that most consumers never encounter.

In drawing on critical animal scholarship – in particular, Carol Adams' notion of *the absent referent* – and sociological theories on subjectification and objectification, the paper calls for renewed attention to the role of (in)visibility in sustaining meat eating. Further, in adopting Carol Bacchi's critical policy analysis *What's the Problem Represented to Be? (WPR),* the paper presents an in-depth analysis of the six episodes of the show that focus on unpacking the underlying problem frames and how the visibility and invisibility of animals come to guide the responses to the ethics of killing them. On this basis, we find that while *Kill Your Favorite Dish* purports to openly examine a phenomenon that is presented in terms of our distance to or alienation from animals and nature, the show actually constructs an ideological narrative about the practice of killing and eating animals. In this narrative, the solution to the perceived problem of alienation is for meat eaters to make themselves aware of the animal behind the meat. Hence, in justifying and sustaining meat eating, the show promotes a complex narrative about awareness, authenticity, pleasure and respect. On this basis, we argue for a

more nuanced understanding of how the invisibility and visibility of nonhuman animals are at play in enabling continued meat consumption.

Paper IV

Care in a Time of Anthropogenic Problems. Experiences from Sanctuary-Making in Rural Denmark

Paper IV explores the everyday experiences of sanctuary-making based on field work performed at two farmed animal sanctuaries (FASes) in rural Denmark. FASes are places that strive to provide a permanent home for rescued and previously farmed animals where they can live together with other members of their species and engage in behaviour that they would otherwise be denied. Situated in Denmark, the paper examines the activities of FASes in view of the growing concern about the devastating consequences of industrial farming on multispecies life both locally and globally. Against this backdrop, the purpose of the paper is to investigate FASes as concrete multispecies sites in order to contribute to the broader conversation of the potential for replacing current anthropocentric orders and practices of care. For this purpose, the paper takes its point of departure in feminist science scholar María Puig de la Bellacasa's (2010) seminal exploration of *ethical doings* in which ethics become concrete "matters of care" and concerns for nonhuman ecologies and relationships entangled in a cosmology beyond the nature-culture dichotomy.

The analysis is divided into three separate sections: In the first section, *Sanctuary Place-making and Caregiving*, I provide a brief account of the basic tenets of FASes against the backdrop of the broader economic, legal and political structures that define their activities. In the second section, *Flourishing Across Species Boundaries*, I describe multispecies life and care as they unfold in the respective sanctuaries, particularly focusing on the conditions of intra- and interspecies life. In the third section, *Post-domestic Care*, I address sanctuary caregiving as a site of contestation that opposes mainstream veterinary care and the ways in which human-animal relations are currently governed, for example, limiting the ability of sanctuaries to care for old and sick animals.

In sum, the three sections offer a reading of the challenges and barriers to sanctuary-making, which helps to direct attention to the ways in which the normative structures aimed at industrialised animal production impact the

potential for multispecies flourishing. From this perspective, sanctuary caregiving can be considered a form of resistance to common anthropocentric notions and practices governed and sanctioned by law. Following this point, the paper finds that the emerging forms of *intra-* and *interspecies care* at the sanctuaries can be fundamental to transforming and recovering human-animal relations, by extending animal care beyond its current constraints to conditions of human control. On this point, I propose the concept of *post-domestic care* to highlight how sanctuaries invoke new meanings of caring in the domestic domain, which historically has been shaped by the legacy of farming. In applying the prefix *-post*, I draw on Sue Donaldson and Will Kymlicka's (2011) critical intervention in animal studies warning against a political aesthetics that entirely precludes the potential flourishing of domesticated animals.

Concluding Discussion

In recent decades, the subject of human-animal relations enmeshed in broader environmental disturbances has gained traction across the humanities and social sciences, informing a range of subfields such as the environmental humanities (Ginn et al., 2014), extinction studies (Chrulew & Vos, 2019), and multispecies studies (Haraway, 2008; Kirksey & Helmreich, 2010; van Dooren et al., 2016). In emphasising how the life and existence of human and nonhuman animals are deeply enmeshed, this scholarship critically interrogates anthropocentric worldviews and calls for deeper engagement with the more-than-human life forms and potential for flourishing. Yet, despite this timely celebration of multispecies worlding and enhanced response-ability, this body of scholarship largely fails to account for the lived experiences of animals entangled – or more accurately entrapped – in systems of exploitation, such as food production (Giraud, 2019; Weisberg, 2009).

In response, critical animal scholarship has been at the forefront of addressing the life, resistance and agency of animals used and exploited in everyday practices of production and consumption (Colling, 2021; Cudworth, 2011a; Gillespie, 2018; Hribal, 2013; Wadiwel, 2015). In particular, this line of research has been pivotal in exposing human dominance and systems of exploitation (Noske, 1997; Twine, 2013). In contributing to pushing these discussions further, this thesis has focused on the consequences of how anthropocentrism and human exceptionalism continue to prevail in discourses about animal care and protection. For this purpose, the research has critically analysed and exposed how nonhuman animals continue to be subjected to harm despite the widely shared commitment to animal care and the prevention of suffering in Danish society at large.

The broader aim of this thesis has been to develop an understanding of the ethical, legal and political implications associated with different strategies of responding to the suffering of farmed animals. Further, in adopting a socio-legal research approach, I have attempted to explore what happens when specific ideas about caring for and responding to the needs of nonhuman sentient beings

become inscribed in law. Based on qualitative research conducted in Denmark, the thesis has demonstrated the significant role of the underlying normative structures that come to define what care across species boundaries is and might be. On this point, the research has exposed the highly selective view of suffering that informs mainstream animal care when nonhuman animals figure as objects rather than subjects of care.

Concerning the specific contributions of the thesis, I have demonstrated how a socio-legal research approach might help to develop new perspectives on the current state of anthropocentrism in law and beyond. In this sense, the thesis can be said to produce its own kind of response to the ongoing harm resulting from intensified animal production. Concerning the overarching perspectives on socio-legal research, Paper I, written together with Måns Svensson, proposed how the empirical tradition of the sociology of law could bring renewed attention to issues of human-animal relations and law, by means of critically exposing the existing contours of animal care and pushing the study of anthropocentric law towards more pluralistic and multispecies perspectives.

In addition, some further contributions can be identified based on my empirical analysis of distinctive modes of care: *care through regulation*, *care through eating* and *care as sanctuary-making*. In Paper II, which is about the role of the regulatory schemes put in place to ensure 'well-cared-for' animals on Danish farms, I showed how suffering is made intelligible through acts of *juridical eyewitnessing* based on specific ways of 'seeing' and 'knowing' suffering. The analysis reveals how specific attempts to monitor care on farms resulted in what I described as ways of *curating suffering*. The study further testified the significant role of the state in shaping human-animal relations, shedding a different perspective on the evolvement of anti-suffering sentiment.

Concerned with growing tendencies towards responsible meat consumption, Paper III, written together with Mathias Elrød Madsen, critically engaged with the visibility and invisibility of farmed animals in recent gastronomic discourses of New Carnivorism and DIY slaughter. Based on our analysis, it appears that what at first might be perceived as an alternative ethics to industrial animal production actually offers little hope of challenging the status of nonhuman animals as consumable objects.

Lastly, Paper IV revealed the multiple ways in which normative structures aimed at industrialised animal production prevent farmed animal sanctuaries from fully achieving their aspirations of multispecies flourishing. The paper addressed

the ethical commitments of the sanctuary caregivers while also documenting their many challenges. Against this backdrop, the analysis highlighted how sanctuary-making appears to be most promising when it is articulated on the basis of interspecies life, care and community beyond human control. The paper further proposed how an essential aspect of the *ethical doings* of sanctuaries pertains to challenging mainstream animal care as it remains fixed to an inadequate paradigm for interspecies flourishing.

Based on these empirical explorations of care across industry regulation, consumption and sanctuary-making, an additional outcome of the research is how it has highlighted the pervasiveness of industrialised animal production in defining human-animal relations due to the role it plays in setting particular standards of care as distributed across species boundaries. In this sense, the research expands previous scholarly conceptions of anthropocentric law by highlighting the embeddedness of the animal industry in normative structures, such as the legal framework pertaining to keeping farmed animals, whether for commercial or non-commercial purposes.

In the remainder of this concluding discussion, I will address some critical observations and reflections highlighted in this thesis which I believe can qualify the debate on accommodating and working towards change at the human-animal interface. First and foremost, the thesis is a cautious warning to critically reflect on claims to care and to put those claims under constant scrutiny, even when they are supposedly well-intended. In recalling to mind Dinesh Wadiwel's intervention, there is an urgent need not only to reveal the hidden violence but to confront how violence is embedded in knowledge systems in much more subtle and tacit ways. In other words, what can seem like a genuine attempt to minimise suffering and reduce pain inscribes animals into specific 'epistemologies' that produce distinct forms of harm and violence. Paradoxically, in attempting to bring about more careful ways of interacting with other animals, the very same animals might be further marginalised as their well-being is narrowed down to a list of negative and positive factors (such as the case with the framework of animal welfare).

Although my warning is mainly aimed at the politics of suffering negotiated between major farming corporations, policy-makers and traditional animal charities, it may also have implications for activists engaging in creating better worlds for all animals. In this context, an expected rejoinder might be that any attempt to address animal suffering is better than the alternative: doing nothing.

It is these kinds of questions that social movements constantly confront in order to make the necessary pragmatic calculations to come up with effective responses to complex issues. This is a complex form of maths.[22] I hope that my research will primarily be read as an attempt to encourage reflexivity in developing viable strategies for counteracting and disrupting anthropocentrism and exploitation while doing the pragmatic work of ensuring both long-term and short-term results. Against this backdrop, one guiding principle for developing strategies to address animal suffering that can be formulated on the basis of this research is to steer clear of authoritative claims about the needs, desires and interests of nonhuman animals that privilege human accounts of suffering.[23] For this purpose, we might need – to paraphrase Kelly Oliver – an *ethics of witnessing* to replace a *politics of suffering*. In other words, we need a form of political aesthetics that does not reinforce anthropocentrism and human exceptionalism and that can take us beyond the current paradigm that keeps animals at the mercy of humans, without the ability to respond.

22 Eva Giraud (2019) sympathetically writes about these challenges faced by animal liberation activism: for example, the complexities of calling attention to suffering in ways that can also be used to uphold certain species hierarchies (for instance, by focusing on certain 'charismatic' animals) by setting certain thresholds based on sentience, cognition or closeness to humans. Giraud importantly emphasizes the inevitable imperfectness or incompleteness of such activism, which is still productive as it helps to foreground certain undesirable forms of human-animal entanglements such as in the research lab or on the farm.

23 See, for example, Deckha's (2019) proposal to rely on 'bearing witness' as a template for law. Importantly, Deckha discusses how state law – even its current form which confines nonhuman animals to a property paradigm – might "adopt the ethos of bearing witness," although mindful that this ethical posture clearly distinguishes from the one Kelly Oliver originally intended to propose.

References

Aaltola, E. (2013). Skepticism, Empathy, and Animal Suffering. *Journal of Bioethical Inquiry*, *10*(4), 457–467. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11673-013-9481-4

Abrell, E. (2021). *Saving Animals: Multispecies Ecologies of Rescue and Care*. University of Minnesota Press.

Adams, C. J. (1990). *The sexual politics of meat. A feminist-vegetarian critical theory*. Continuum.

Adams, C. J. (2007). Caring About Suffering. In J. Donovan & C. Adams (Eds.), *The Feminist Care Tradition in Animal Ethics*. Columbia University Press.

Anneberg, I., & Bubandt, N. (2016). DYREVELFÆRDSSTATEN: Grisens krop, velfærdens historie og selve livets politik i Danmark. *Tidsskriftet Antropologi*, *73*.

Anthis, K., & Anthis, J. R. (21 February 2019). *Global Farmed & Factory Farmed Animals Estimates*. Sentience Institute. https://www.sentienceinstitute.org/global-animal-farming-estimates

Arup, G. S. (2021). *Entangled Law. A Study of the Entanglement of Wolves, Humans, and Law in the Landscape*. Karlstads Universitet.

Asher, C. (3 April 2019). Brazil soy trade linked to widespread deforestation, carbon emissions. *Mongabay*. https://news.mongabay.com/2019/04/brazil-soy-trade-linked-to-widespread-deforestation-carbon-emissions/

Bacchi, C. (1999). *Women, Policy and Politics: The Construction of Policy Problems*. SAGE Publications.

Banakar, R. (1998). The Identity Crisis of a 'Stepchild'. Reflections on the Paradigmatic Deficiencies of Sociology of Law. *Retfærd: Nordisk Juridisk Tidsskrift*, *21*(2), 3–21.

Banakar, R., & Travers, M. (2005). *Theory and Method in Socio-Legal Research*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Bernet Kempers, E. (2020). Animal Dignity and the Law: Potential, Problems and Possible Implications. *Liverpool Law Review*, *41*(2), 173–199. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10991-020-09244-1

Blanchette, A. (2020). *Porkopolis: American Animality, Standardized Life, and the Factory Farm*. Duke University Press.

Blattner, C. E. (2019). *Protecting animals within and across borders: Extraterritorial jurisdiction and the challenges of globalization*. Oxford University Press.

Boltanski, L. (1999). *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media and Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

Bowlby, S., Greenhough, B., & Clarke, N. (2010). The logic of care: Health and the problem of patient choice. *Area*, *42*(1), 135–139.

Braverman, I. (2012). *Zooland: The Institution of Captivity*. Stanford University Press.

Braverman, I. (2015). More-than-Human Legalities: Advocating an 'Animal Turn' in Law and Society. In P. Ewich & S. Austin (Eds.), *Handbook of Law and Society* (pp. 307–321). Wiley Press.

Brooman, S. (2017). Creatures, the Academic Lawyer and a Socio-Legal Approach: Introducing Animal Law into the Legal Education Curriculum. *Liverpool Law Review*, *38*(3), 243–257. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10991-017-9205-7

Bryant, T. (2007). Similarity or Difference as a Basis for Justice: Must Animals be Like Humans to be Legally Protected from Humans Animal Law and Policy. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, *70*(1), 207–254.

Bryant, T. L. (2006). Animals Unmodified: Defining Animals/Defining Human Obligations to Animals. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, *1*, 137–194.

Callesen, G. E., Gylling, M., & Bosselmann, A. S. (2020). *Den Danske Import af Soja, 2017-2018: Hvor store arealer beslaglægger den i producentlandene, og hvor stor andel af den importerede soja anvendes til svine- og mælkeproduktion?* (No. 03). IFRO Udredning.

Canavan, J. (2017). "Happy cow" welfarist ideology and the Swedish "milk crisis": A crisis of romanticized oppression. In D. Nibert (Ed.), *Animal oppression and capitalism* (Vol. 1, pp. 34–55). Columbia University Press.

Celermajer, D., Schlosberg, D., Rickards, L., Stewart-Harawira, M., Thaler, M., Tschakert, P., Verlie, B., & Winter, C. (2021). Multispecies justice: Theories, challenges, and a research agenda for environmental politics. *Environmental Politics*, *30*(1–2), 119–140. https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2020.1827608

Chrulew, M., & Vos, R. D. (2019). Extinction: Stories of Unravelling and Reworlding. *Cultural Studies Review*, *25*(1), 23–28. https://doi.org/10.5130/csr.v25i1.6688

Cole, M., & Stewart, K. (2014). *Our Children and Other Animals: The Cultural Construction of Human-Animal Relations in Childhood*. Routledge.

Colling, S. (2021). *Animal Resistance in the Global Capitalist Era*. Michigan State University Press. https://doi.org/10.14321/j.ctv15nbzx9

Corman, L. (2017). Ideological Monkey Wrenching: Nonhuman Animal Politics beyond Suffering. In D. Nibert (Ed.), *Animal Oppression and Capitalism.* ABC-CLIO.

Coulter, K. (2016). Beyond Human to Humane: A Multispecies Analysis of Care Work, Its Repression, and Its Potential. *Studies in Social Justice*, *10*(2), 199–219. https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v10i2.1350

Crary, A., & Gruen, L. (2022). *Animal Crisis: A New Critical Theory*. Polity.

Cudworth, E. (2011a). 'Most Farmers Prefer Blondes': Social Intersectionality and Species Relations. In B. Carter & N. Charles (Eds.), *Human and Other Animals: Critical Perspectives* (pp. 153–172). Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230321366_8

Cudworth, E. (2011b). Climate Change, Industrial Animal Agriculture and Complex Inequalities. *International Journal of Science in Society*, *2*(3), 323–335. https://doi.org/10.18848/1836-6236/CGP/v02i03/51257

Danish Energy Agency. (2022). *Klimastatus og -fremskrivning 2022*. https://ens.dk/sites/ens.dk/files/Basisfremskrivning/kf22_-_samlet_rapport.pdf

Deckha, M. (2012). Critical Animal Studies and Animal Law. *Animal Law*, *18*(2), 207–236.

Deckha, M. (2019). The Save Movement and Farmed Animal Suffering: The Advocacy Benefits of Bearing Witness as a Template for Law. *Can. J. Comp. & Contemp. L.*, *5*, 77.

Deckha, M. (2021). *Animals as Legal Beings: Contesting Anthropocentric Legal Orders*. University of Toronto Press.

Delaney, D. (2014). Legal geography I: Constitutivities, complexities, and contingencies. *Progress in Human Geography*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132514527035

Desai, S., & Smith, H. (2018). Kinship across Species: Learning to Care for Nonhuman Others. *Feminist Review*, *118*(1), 41–60. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41305-018-0104-0

Dinker, K. G., & Pedersen, H. (2016). Critical Animal Pedagogies: Re-learning Our Relations with Animal Others. In H. E. Lees & N. Noddings (Eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook of Alternative Education* (pp. 415–430). Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-41291-1_27

Donaldson, S., & Kymlicka, W. (2011). *Zoopolis: A political theory of animal rights*. Oxford University Press.

Donaldson, S., & Kymlicka, W. (2015). Farmed Animal Sanctuaries: The Heart of the Movement? *Politics and Animals*, *1*(1), 50–74.

Donovan, J., & Adams, C. (Eds.). (2007). *The Feminist Care Tradition in Animal Ethics*. Columbia University Press.

DR. (20 November 2014). *DR3 eksperiment: Kan man spise sin gris?* DR. https://www.dr.dk/levnu/psykologi/dr3-eksperiment-kan-man-spise-sin-gris

Dyrenes Frie Farm. (2017). *Otto | Dyrenes Frie Farm*. Dyrenes Frie Farm. https://dyrenesfriefarm.dk/dyr/otto/

Eisen, J. (2019a). Feminist Jurisprudence for Farmed Animals. *Canadian Journal of Comparative and Contemporary Law 5, 1*.

Eisen, J. (2019b). Milked: Nature, Necessity, and American Law. *Berkeley Journal of Gender, Law & Justice*, *34*, 71–116.

Eldén, S. (2020). *Forskningsetik: Vägval i samhällsvetenskapliga studier*. Studentlitteratur.

Eurogroup for Animals. (2019). *Stunning/killing of pigs with high concentrations of CO2* [Position Paper]. https://www.eurogroupforanimals.org/files/eurogroupforanimals/2020-03/CO2%20stunning%20EfA%20position%20paper%202019.pdf

Eurogroup for Animals. (23 March 2023). *Farm Animals*. Eurogroup for Animals. https://www.eurogroupforanimals.org/what-we-do/policy-areas/farm-animals

Fagbladet 3F (2022). Tema: Bondefanget i Danmark. *Fagbladet 3F*. https://fagbladet3f.dk/tema/bondefanget-i-danmark

FAO (2006). *The State of Food and Agriculture*. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). https://www.fao.org/3/a0800e/a0800e.pdf

FAO (2018). *Shaping the future of livestock*. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). http://www.fao.org/3/i8384en/I8384EN.pdf

Favre, D. (2010). Living Property: A New Status for Animals Within the Legal System. *Marquette Law Review*, *93*(3), 1021–1171.

Fernandez, A. (2019). Not Quite Property, Not Quite Persons: A "Quasi" Approach for Nonhuman Animals. *Canadian Journal of Comparative and Contemporary Law*, *5*(1), 155.

Francione, G. L. (1995). *Animals, Property, and the Law*. Temple University Press.

Gaard, G. (2011). Ecofeminism Revisited: Rejecting Essentialism and Re-Placing Species in a Material Feminist Environmentalism. *Feminist Formations*, *23*(2), 26–53. https://doi.org/10.1353/ff.2011.0017

García, M. E. (2019). Death of a Guinea Pig. *Environmental Humanities*, *11*(2), 351–372. https://doi.org/10.1215/22011919-7754512

Gerber, P. J., Steinfeld, H., Henderson, B., Mottet, A., Opio, C., Dijkman, J., Falcucci, A., & Tempio, G. (2013). *Tackling climate change through livestock – A global assessment of emissions and mitigation opportunities*. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). http://www.fao.org/news/story/en/item/197623/icode/

Gillespie, K. (2016). Witnessing Animal Others: Bearing Witness, Grief, and the Political Function of Emotion. *Hypatia*, *31*(3), 572–588. https://doi.org/10.1111/hypa.12261

Gillespie, K. (2018). *The Cow with Ear Tag #1389*. The University of Chicago Press.

Gillespie, K. A. (2019). For a Politicized Multispecies Ethnography. *Politics and Animals*, *5*(0), 17–32.

Gillespie, K., & Collard, R.-C. (Eds.). (2015). *Critical Animal Geographies: Politics, intersections and hierarchies in a multispecies world*. Routledge.

Ginn, F., Beisel, U., & Barua, M. (2014). Flourishing with Awkward Creatures: Togetherness, Vulnerability, Killing. *Environmental Humanities*, *4*(1), 113–123. https://doi.org/10.1215/22011919-3614953

Giraud, E. H. (2019). *What Comes After Entanglements? Activism, Anthropocentrism, and an Ethics of Exclusion*. Duke University Press.

Grear, A. (2015). Deconstructing Anthropos: A Critical Legal Reflection on 'Anthropocentric' Law and Anthropocene 'Humanity'. *Law and Critique*, *26*(3), 225–249. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10978-015-9161-0

Greenpeace. (2020). *Making Mincemeat of the Pantanal*. https://www.greenpeace.org/international/publication/46577/pantanal-brazil-fires-jbs-meat-cattle/

Gruen, L. (2013). *Entangled Empathy: An Alternative Ethic for Our Relationships with Animals*. Lantern Books.

Gruen, L. (2021). The Moral Status of Animals. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, *Summer 2021 Edition*. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2021/entries/moral-animal/

Guillemin, M., & Gillam, L. (2004). Ethics, Reflexivity, and "Ethically Important Moments" in Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *10*(2), 261–280. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800403262360

Guth, J., & Ashford, C. (2014). The Legal Education and Training Review: Regulating socio-legal and liberal legal education? *The Law Teacher*, *48*(1), 5–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/03069400.2013.875304

Hamilton, L., & Taylor, N. (2017). *Ethnography after Humanism: Power, Politics and Method in Multi-Species Research*. Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-53933-5

Hammerslev, O., & Nielsen, S. P. P. (2020). Retssociologiske metoder. In C. R. Hamer & S. Schaumburg-Müller (Eds.), *Retssociologiske metoder* (pp. 307–324). Djøf Forlag.

Haraway, D. J. (2008). *When species meet*. University of Minnesota Press.

Hribal, J. (2013). *Fear of the Animal Planet: The Hidden History of Animal Resistence*. CounterPunch.

Hribal, J. C. (2007). Animals, Agency, and Class: Writing the History of Animals from Below. *Human Ecology Review*, *14*(1), 12.

IPCC. (2019). *Climate Change and Land. An IPCC Special Report on climate change, desertification, land degradation, sustainable land management, food security, and greenhouse gas fluxes in terrestrial ecosystems. Summary for Policy-makers*. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. https://www.ipcc.ch/site/assets/uploads/2019/08/4.-SPM_Approved_Microsite_FINAL.pdf

Joy, M. (2011). *Why We Love Dogs, Eat Pigs, and Wear Cows: An Introduction to Carnism*. Red Wheel.

Karrebæk, M. S. (2021). Pigs and Pork in Denmark: Meaning Change, Ideology, and Traditional Foods. *Signs and Society*, *9*(1), 1–35. https://doi.org/10.1086/713241

Kartch, F. (2017). Narrative Interviewing. In M. Allen (Ed.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods*. SAGE Publications.

Kheel, M. (2008). *Nature Ethics: An Ecofeminist Perspective*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Kim, C. J. (2015). *Dangerous Crossings: Race, Species, and Nature in a Multicultural Age*. Cambridge University Press.

Kirksey, S. E., & Helmreich, S. (2010). The Emergence of Multispecies Ethnography. *Cultural Anthropology*, *25*(4), 545–576. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1360.2010.01069.x

Kittay, E. F. (2001). When Caring Is Just and Justice Is Caring: Justice and Mental Retardation. *Public Culture*, *3*, 557–580. https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-13-3-557

Ko, A., & Ko, S. (2017). *Aphro-ism: Essays on Pop Culture, Feminism, and Black Veganism from Two Sisters*. Lantern Publishing & Media.

Kurasawa, F. (2009). A Message in a Bottle: Bearing Witness as a Mode of Transnational Practice. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *26*(1), 92–111. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276408099017

Kurki, V. (2017). Animals, Slaves, and Corporations: Analyzing Legal Thinghood. *German Law Journal*, *18*(5), 1069–1090. https://doi.org/10.1017/S2071832200022252

Lambert, H. (2023). *The Grim Reality of Industrial Animal Farming. No Animal Left Behind*. Eurogroup for Animals. https://www.eurogroupforanimals.org/files/eurogroupforanimals/2023-03/2023_03_efa_nalb_expose_report_0.pdf

Lawson, V. (2007). Geographies of Care and Responsibility. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *97*(1), 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8306.2007.00520.x

Leach, S., Sutton, R. M., Dhont, K., Douglas, K. M., & Bergström, Z. M. (2023). Changing minds about minds: Evidence that people are too sceptical about animal sentience. *Cognition*, *230*, 105263. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2022.105263

Linné, T., & Pedersen, H. (2016). With Care for Cows and a Love for Milk: Affect and Performance in Swedish Dairy Industry Marketing Strategies. In A. Potts (Ed.), *Meat culture* (pp. 109–128). Brill.

Loughlin, E. M. (2023). Being existed by another through the sensory: The ungrievable deaths of industrial pigs in slaughterhouse tours. In D. House & M. Westendorp (Eds.), *New Perspectives on Urban Deathscapes* (pp. 162–179). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Mason, J. (2018). *Qualitative Researching* (3rd edition). SAGE Publications.

Mc Loughlin, E. (2022). *The Challenges and Needs of Animal Welfare Inspectors on Farm and at Slaughter: An Ethnographic Study of Animal Welfare Inspection in Ireland, Denmark, France, and Poland*. Zenodo. https://doi.org/10.5281/ZENODO.7341737

Ministry of Environment and Food of Denmark. (2016). *Denmark's Report for the State of the World's Biodiversity for Food and Agriculture*. https://www.fao.org/3/CA3430EN/ca3430en.pdf

Moeslund, J. E., Nygaard, B., Ejrnæs, R., Bell, N., Bygebjerg, R., Carl, H., Damgaard, J., Dylmer, E., Elmeros, M., Flensted, K., Fog, K., Goldberg, I., Gønget, K., Helsing, F., Holmen, M., Jørum, P., Lissner, J., Læssøe, T., Madsen, H. B., … Wind, P. (2019). *Den danske Rødliste* [Https://bios.au.dk/forskningraadgivning/temasider/redlistframe/]. Aarhus Universitet, DCE – Nationalt Center for Miljø Og Energi.

Nocella, A. J., Sorenson, J., Socha, K., & Matsuoka, A. (2014). INTRODUCTION: The Emergence of Critical Animal Studies: The Rise of Intersectional Animal Liberation. *Counterpoints*, *448*, xix–xxxvi.

Noske, B. (1997). *Beyond boundaries: Humans and Animals*. Black Rose Books.

Ogden, L. A., Hall, B., & Tanita, K. (2013). Animals, Plants, People, and Things: A Review of Multispecies Ethnography. *Environment and Society*, *4*(1), 5–24. https://doi.org/10.3167/ares.2013.040102

Ojalammi, S., & Blomley, N. (2015). Dancing with wolves: Making legal territory in a more-than-human world. *Geoforum*, *62*, 51–60. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2015.03.022

Oliver, K. (2008). What is wrong with (animal) rights? *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, *22*(3), 214–224.

Oliver, K. (2010). Animal ethics: Toward an ethics of responsiveness. *Research in Phenomenology*, *40*(2), 267–280.

Oliver, K. (2015). Witnessing, recognition, and response ethics. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, *48*(4), 473–493.

Oliver, K. (2018). *Response Ethics*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Otomo, Y., & Mussawir, E. (Eds.). (2013). *Law and the Question of the Animal: A Critical Jurisprudence*. Routledge.

Overstreet, K. (2018). *'A Well-Cared for Cow Produces More Milk': The Biotechnics of (Dis)assembling Cow Bodies in Wisconsin Dairy Worlds*. University of California, Santa Cruz.

Pachirat, T. (2011). Every Twelve Seconds: Industrialized Slaughter and the Politics of Sight. Yale University Press. https://doi.org/10.12987/9780300152685

Pachirat, T. (2018). Sanctuary. In L. Gruen (Ed.), *Critical Terms for Animal Studies*. The University of Chicago Press.

Parry, J. (2010). Gender and slaughter in popular gastronomy. *Feminism & Psychology*, *20*(3), 381–396.

Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, A. (2015). *Spatial justice: Body, lawscape, atmosphere*. Routledge.

Pollan, M. (2009). *The Omnivore's Dilemma: The Search for a Perfect Meal in a Fast-Food World*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Probyn-Rapsey, F. (2018). Anthropocentrism. In L. Gruen (Ed.), *Critical Terms for Animal Studies*. University of Chicago Press.

Puig de la Bellacasa, M. (2010). Ethical Doings in Naturecultures. *Ethics, Place and Environment*, *13*(2), 151–169.

Puig de la Bellacasa, M. (2012). 'Nothing comes without its world': Thinking with care. *Sociological Review*, *60*(2), 197–216. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2012.02070.x

Puig de la Bellacasa, M. (2017). *Matters of Care: Speculative Ethics in More than Human Worlds*. University of Minnesota Press.

Redmalm, D. (2015). Pet Grief: When is Non-Human Life Grievable? *The Sociological Review*, *63*(1), 19–35. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12226

Regan, T. (1983). *The case for animal rights.* University of California Press.

Ripple, W. J., Wolf, C., Newsome, T. M., Barnard, P., & Moomaw, W. R. (2020). World Scientists' Warning of a Climate Emergency. *BioScience*, *70*(1), 8–12. https://doi.org/10.1093/biosci/biz088

Sanders, B. (29 July 2020). Global Animal Slaughter Statistics & Charts: 2020 Update. *Faunalytics*. https://faunalytics.org/global-animal-slaughter-statistics-and-charts/

Sassen, S. (2010). The global inside the national. *Sociopedia Isa*, 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1177/205684601061

Singer, P. (2009). *Animal Liberation: The Definitive Classic of the Animal Movement*. Harper Perennial Modern Classics.

Spelman, E. V. (1998). *Fruits of Sorrow: Framing Our Attention to Suffering*. Beacon Press.

Srinivasan, K. (2014). Caring for the Collective: Biopower and Agential Subjectification in Wildlife Conservation. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *32*(3), 501–517. https://doi.org/10.1068/d13101p

Strathern, M. (1999). *Property, Substance and Effect. Anthropological Essays on Persons and Things*. The Athlone Press.

Stucki, S. (2022). *One Rights: Human and Animal Rights in the Anthropocene*. Springer.

Svendsen, M. N. (2022). *Near Human: Border Zones of Species, Life, and Belonging*. Rutgers University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv2v55m3z

Swanson, H. A., Lien, M. E., & Ween, G. B. (Eds.). (2018). *Domestication Gone Wild: Politics and Practices of Multispecies Relations*. Duke University Press.

Tronto, J. C. (1993). *Moral boundaries: A political argument for an ethic of care.* Routledge.

Tuan, Y.-F. (1984). *Dominance and Affection: The Making of Pets*. Yale University Press.

Tumilty, E., Smith, C. M., Walker, P., & Treharne, G. (2018). Ethics Unleashed: Developing Responsive Ethical Practice and Review for the Inclusion of Non-Human Animal Participants in Qualitative Research. In R. Iphofen & M. Tolich (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research Ethics* (pp. 396–409). SAGE Publications. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526435446.n27

Twine, R. (2013). Animals on Drugs: Understanding the Role of Pharmaceutical Companies in the Animal-Industrial Complex. *Journal of Bioethical Inquiry*, *10*(4), 505–514. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11673-013-9476-1

Tyler, T. (2021). The Exception and the Norm: Dimensions of Anthropocentrism. In S. McHugh, R. McKay, & J. Miller (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Animals and Literature* (pp. 15–36). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-39773-9_2

van Dooren, T. (2014). *Flight Ways: Life and Loss at the Edge of Extinction*. Columbia University Press.

van Dooren, T., Kirksey, E., & Münster, U. (2016). Multispecies Studies: Cultivating Arts of Attentiveness. *Environmental Humanities*, *8*(1), 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1215/22011919-3527695

Vick, D. W. (2004). Interdisciplinarity and the Discipline of Law. *Journal of Law and Society*, *31*(2), 163–193. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6478.2004.00286.x

Villanueva, G. (2017). *A Transnational History of the Australian Animal Movement, 1970-2015*. Springer.

Wadiwel, D. J. (2015). *The War against Animals*. Brill.

Wästerfors, D. (2018). Observations. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative data collection*. SAGE Publications.

Weisberg, Z. (2009). The Broken Promises of Monsters: Haraway, Animals and the Humanist Legacy. *Journal for Critical Animal Studies, 7*(2).

WHO. (2019). *FAO, OIE, and WHO launch a guide for countries on taking a One Health approach to addressing zoonotic diseases*. World Health Organization. https://www.who.int/news/item/11-03-2019-fao-oie-and-who-launch-a-guide-for-countries-on-taking-a-one-health-approach-to-addressing-zoonotic-diseases

Wise, S. (2000). *Rattling the Cage: Toward Legal Rights for Animals*. Perseus.

Wolch, J., & Emel, J. (Eds.). (1998). *Animal geographies: Place, politics and identity in the nature-culture borderlands*. Verso.

Wolfe, C. (2012). *Before the Law: Humans and Other Animals in a Biopolitical Frame*. University of Chicago Press.

Young, H. (22 May 2020). 'Exploitative conditions': Germany to reform meat industry after spate of Covid-19 cases. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/may/22/exploitative-conditions-germany-to-reform-meat-industry-after-spate-of-covid-19-cases

Printed by Media-Tryck, Lund 2023 NORDIC SWAN ECOLABEL 3041 0903

Animals and the Politics of Suffering

In recent times, the ethics of eating and killing nonhuman animals have become a topic of increasing contestation. Based on qualitative analysis conducted in Denmark, this compilation thesis explores how ethical commitment to the situation of farmed animals is negotiated across three different domains: industry regulation, consumption and sanctuary-making. In adopting a socio-legal research approach, the thesis contributes to the understanding of how normative structures embedded in industrial farming come to define what care across species boundaries is and what it might be. Finally, the thesis discusses alternative, non-anthropocentric conceptions of care that can take us beyond the current paradigm, which keeps animals at the mercy of humans, without the ability to respond.

LUND UNIVERSITY

Lund University
Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Sociology of Law
Sociology of Law Dissertations 61
ISBN 978-91-8039-683-7
ISSN 1403-7256